This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

32101 064990631

4644
462
v.17
64-65)

Library of
Princeton University.

Historical
Seminary.

In memory of

Robert Stockton Pyne.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME V.

SESSION 1864-65.

LIVERPOOL:

ADAM HOLDEN, 48, CHURCH STREET.

1865.

(RECAP)

1864
1864-65

LIVERPOOL:
T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, COOK STREET.

This Volume has been edited by the Assistant Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The Writers of Papers, however, are alone responsible for the facts and opinions contained in their respective communications.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

Plates VI, VII and VIII are the gift of Mr. F. J. Jeffery, the author of the Paper they illustrate; plates X and XIII also are presented by Mr. H. E. Smith, in illustration of his Papers; all the other plates have been prepared at the expense of the Society.

TA678
.5
.A64
1864/65
702734

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1864-5.

President.

Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex Officiis.	Elected.
The Mayor of Liverpool.	Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c.
The High Sheriff of Lancashire.	John F. Marsh Esq.
The High Sheriff of Cheshire.	Hon. A. Egerton, M.P.

Sectional Members of Council.

ARCHÆOLOGY.	LITERATURE.	SCIENCE.
T. Dawson Esq.	H. A. Bright, M.A.	E. B. Bright, F.R.A.S.
J. A. Forrest Esq.	D. Buxton, F.R.S.L.	J. Hartnup, F.R.A.S.
J. H. Gibson Esq.	J. B. Hughes Esq.	Rev. H. H. Higgins, M.A.
J. Mayer, F.S.A.	J. G. Jacob Esq.	J. Newton Esq.
P. R. M'Quie Esq.	F. J. Jeffery Esq.	T. Sansom, F.B.S.E.
J. Stonehouse Esq.	W. Mathison Esq.	J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.

Librarian.

A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Stonesfield, Bebington, Birkenhead.

Curator.

H. E. Smith Esq., Aldboro' House, Egremont, Birkenhead.

Treasurer.

W. Burke Esq., 17, Bagot Street, Smithdown Road, Liverpool.

Hon. Secretary.

Nicholas Waterhouse Esq., Rake Lane, Liverpool.

Assistant Secretary.

J. H. Genn Esq., 37, Elizabeth Street, Liverpool.

CONTENTS.

[Papers marked thus * are Illustrated.]

PAGE.

* On the Druidical Rock Basins in the Neighbourhood of Burnley. By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S. 1
The Ancient Borough of Over, Cheshire. By Thomas Rigby Esq. 13
The England of Shakspeare. By Nicholas Waterhouse Esq. ... 23
The Greenwood of Shakspeare. By Nicholas Waterhouse Esq.. 47
The Pamphlet Literature of Liverpool. By Thomas Dawson Esq., M.R.C.S. 73
* The Lakeland of Lancashire: No. I, Hawkshead Town, Church and School. By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A. 139
* On British Silver Military War Medals. By J. Harris Gibson Esq. 161
On the Flora of Preston and the Neighbourhood. Part IV. By Charles Joseph Ashfield Esq. 181
* Numismatic History of England, from 1066 to the present time: Part I, 1066 to 1504. By F. J. Jeffery, F.G.H.S. 187
* The Limestone Caves of Craven and their Ancient Inhabitants. By Henry Ecroyd Smith Esq. 199
On some Results of the Census of the Deaf and Dumb in 1861. By David Buxton, F.R.S.L. 231
The History of Photography to the year 1844. By J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S. 249
* On the Cup-Cuttings and Ring-Cuttings on the Calder Stones near Liverpool. By Professor J. Y. Simpson, M.D. (Edinburgh). 257
On the Roman Topography of East Lancashire. By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S. &c. 263
* Notice of an Early Conventual Cemetery in Wirral. By Henry Ecroyd Smith Esq. 271

List of Members vii
Proceedings, Seventeenth Session 277
Report presented at Annual Meeting ..... *ib.*
Treasurer's Balance Sheet 281
Excursion 299

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plate.		Page.
I.	Hanging Stones ..... to face	8
II.	Gorple Stones ..... „	*ib.*
III.	Interior View of Hawkshead Grammar School ..... „	155
IV.	Chest and Seal—Hawkshead Grammar School ..... „	158
V.	Crimean Medal &c. ..... „	178
VI.	Penny, William I; Shilling, Henry VII; Half-crown, Cromwell ..... „	190
VII.	Pennies, Henry III; Farthings, Edward I, II or III; Groat, Edward III ..... „	198
VIII.	Gold Noble, Henry III; Noble, Edward III; Quarter or Ferling Noble, Edward III; Angel, Henry VI; Sovereign, Henry VII ..... „	*ib.*
IX.	Limestone Scaurs near Settle ..... „	199
X.	Ancient British Brooches &c., discovered in Limestone Caves near Settle ..... „	217
XI and XII.	Calder Stones ..... „	259
XIII.	Hilbre Cross ..... „	271

LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION XVII—1864-65.

The first List was dated 23rd November, 1848; all whose names appeared in it are therefore Original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors or Sheriffs have their year of office attached.

The letter P denotes that the Members, in connexion with whose names it occurs, have read papers before the Society.

Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS are Members of the Council; and in *Italics* are Life Members.

Those marked thus * are Resident. The post town Liverpool is usually omitted.

A

23rd Nov., 1848. *Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedale hall, Hawkshead, Windermere.
1st Dec., 1859. Ainslie, P. B., F.S.A. Scot., Guildford.
4th Dec., 1862. *Anderson, John, 42, Bold street.
17th Dec., 1857. *Anderson, Thomas Darnley, 5, India buildings, Water street, and West Dingle.
3rd May, 1849. *Anderson, Thomas Francis, Holly lodge, Fairfield, and 3, Cable street.
4th Dec., 1856. Ansdell, John, St. Helens.
23rd Nov., 1848. Ansdell, Richard, A.R.A., Lytham house, St. Alban's road, Kensington, London, W.
15th Sept., 1854. Arrowsmith, P. R., The Ferns, Bolton.
2nd Dec., 1858. Artingstall, George, Warrington.
P. 4th Dec., 1862. Ashfield, Charles Joseph, 9, Regent street, Preston.
P. 11th May, 1854. Aspland, Rev. R. Brook, M.A., Frampton villas, South Hackney, London.
P. 9th Oct., 1854. Atherton, Henry, Sutton, Prescot.
H. Sh. Cheshire, 1857. *Atkinson, William*, Ashton heyes, Chester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Avison, Thomas, F.S.A., 18, Cook street, and Fulwood park, Aigburth.

B

P. 3rd Jan., 1861. *Baar, Rev. Hermann, Ph.Dr., 98, Bedford street South.
8th June, 1854. *Banning, John Johnson, 20, Castle street.
3rd Dec., 1863. *Barron, Charles, 54, Tower buildings, and 26, Richmond terrace.
7th Feb., 1861. *Bartlett, William, 22, North John street.

1st Dec., 1864. *Bath, John D., Garston.
12th Jan., 1860. *Bath, William H. P.
6th March, 1862. *Bazley, Thomas*, M.P., Hayesleigh, Manchester, and Reform Club, London, S.W.
P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.
21st May, 1857. *Bean, Edwin, Revenue buildings.
15th April, 1858. *Bell, Christopher, Back Goree.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Bell, Henry, Hamilton square, and Grosvenor road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
15th Nov., 1854. *Belshaw, John, Wason buildings, 4, Harrington street.
1st Dec., 1864. *Benas, B. L., 5, South Castle street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's buildings, and 109, Shaw street.
7th March, 1850. Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescot.
23rd Nov., 1848. Birchall, Major Thos., Ribbleton hall, Preston.
P. 1st May, 1862. Birkenhead, E. H., B. Sc., F.G.S., Worsley mesnes, Wigan.
4th March, 1852. Birley, Rev. John Shepherd, Moss Lea, Bolton-le-Moors, Preston.
P. 8th Jan., 1852. Birley, T. Langton, Carr hill, Kirkham.
6th Dec., 1855. Black, J., M.D., F.G.S., 2, George's square, Edinburgh.
23rd Nov., 1848. Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
20th Sept., 1854. Blackmore, William, 10, Water street, and Hooton, Chester.
20th Sept., 1854. *Bloxam, Frederick William.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell, Great Crosby.
5th May, 1853. Booth, Benjamin Witham, Swinton, Manchester.
1st May, 1856. Booth, John Billington, Overleigh house, Preston.
15th Dec., 1853. Bossi, Arthur, Paris.
3rd Jan., 1856. *Bouch, Thomas, 1, Oldhall street, and New Brighton.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Boult, Joseph, Exchange buildings West, and Parkfield road, Aigburth road.
8th Dec., 1851. Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine hall, Preston.
15th April, 1858. *Bower, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry, & Seaforth.
6th Dec., 1855. Bowes, John, Blue Coat School, Warrington.
13th Nov., 1851. Brackstone, R. H., Lyncombe hill, Bath.
15th Dec., 1853. Bradbury, Charles, Salford crescent, Manchester.
17th Dec., 1857. *Bradley, William Gibson, 52, Bold street, and 18, Kenyon terrace, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Brakell, Thomas, 7, Cook street, and 23, Richmond terrace, Everton.
Mayor Liv., 1848-9. *Bramley-Moore, John, Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Aigburth.
30th Dec., 1854. Brent, Francis, Custom house, Plymouth.
P. 7th May, 1863. *Bright, E. B., 2, Exchange buildings, and Waterloo.
P. 9th March, 1854. *Bright, Henry Arthur, A.M., Fairfield, and 1, North John street.

4th Feb., 1864. Bright, Sir Charles Tilston, M.P., F.R.S., C.E., 12, Hyde park gardens, London.
3rd May, 1849. Brooke, Henry, Forest hill, Northwich.
6th March, 1851. *Brooke, Richard, jun.*, Norton priory, Runcorn.
15th March, 1855. *Browne, G. Mansfield, 15, South hill, Park rd.
11th Sept., 1854. *BURKE, WILLIAM, 17, Bagot street, Smithdown road, TREASURER.
17th Sept., 1854. Burnell, Rev. Samuel, A.M., Winwick, Warrington.
P. 15th Dec., 1853. *BUXTON, DAVID, F.R.S.L., Principal of the Liverpool Deaf and Dumb Institution, Oxford street.

C

23rd Nov., 1848. *Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton street.
3rd Dec., 1857. *Calder, Rev. William, A.M., Fairfield.
1st Dec., 1859. Callender, W. Romaine, jun., F.S.A., Ashburne house, Rusholme, Manchester.
P. 6th Dec., 1855. Calvert, F. Crace, Ph.Dr., F.R.S., F.C.S., M.R.A. Turin, Royal Institution, Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Campbell, Rev. Augustus, A.M., 131, Duke street, and the Vicarage, Childwall.
18th Dec., 1856. *Campbell, Wm., Captain & Adjutant R.L.M.A., Artillery barracks, Rupert lane.
18th Dec., 1856. Cartwright, Samuel.
3rd Dec., 1857. *Chadburn, Charles Henry, 71, Lord street, and Egremont, Birkenhead.
H. Sh. Chesh., 1855-6. *Chapman, John*, M.P., Hill End, Mottram-in-Longdendale.
21st May, 1857. Cheetham, John, M.P.
CHESHIRE, THE HIGH SHERIFF OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
23rd Nov., 1858. *Clare, John Leigh, 11, Exchange buildings, and Richmond terrace, Breck road.
14th April, 1859. *Clement, Leonard*, Nelson-in-Marsden, near Burnley.
24th May, 1855. *Comber, Thomas, the Temple, Dale street.
18th Dec., 1856. Corser, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Stand, Manchester.
6th Dec., 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Edge mount, Edge lane.
9th Jan., 1862. Cross, Richard Assheton, Hill Cliff, Warrington.
23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe hill, Chorley.
2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, 6, Booth street, Piccadilly, Manchester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Cust, Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, Claremont, Surrey, and Hill street, London.

D

23rd Sept., 1854. *Davies, Comenius, 110, Paddington, Edge hill.
3rd March, 1864. *Davies, John, jun., 6, King street, Edge hill.

19th March, 1863. Dawson, E., Aldcliffe hall, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. *_Dawson, Henry_, 30, Redcross street, and 15, St. James's road
P. 2nd May, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Eng., 26, Rodney st.
23rd April, 1857. _Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of_, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.
P. 20th Dec., 1855. Dobson, William.
P. 7th March, 1853. *Dove, Percy M., F.S.S., F.I.A., Royal Insurance office, 1, North John street, and Castledon lodge, Claughton road, Birkenhead.
4th Nov., 1858. *Drysdale, C. Alexander, 11, King street, and 7, Elm terrace, Fairfield.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal Bank buildings.
13th Sept., 1854. *Duncan, Thomas, 44, West Derby street.

E

5th Nov., 1863. *Eastee, George, 6, Harrington street.
1st Jan., 1857. *Eaton, Francis James, Richmond terrace, Breck road, and 18, Queen Insurance buildings.
9th Dec., 1852. Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan.
6th March, 1862. *Edwards, Edward, Adelaide buildings, Chapel street, and Holly lodge, Fairfield.
6th March, 1862. Egerton, Hon. Algernon, M.P., Worsley Old hall, Manchester.
7th Jan., 1851. _Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham_, M.P., Rosthern hall, Knutsford.
6th March, 1862. _Egerton of Tatton, Rt. Hon. the Lord_, Tatton park, Knutsford.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. _Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey_, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.
P. 4th Nov., 1858. *Evans, Edward Francis, Revenue buildings.
8th Nov., 1849. *Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 56, Hanover street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Ewart, Joseph Christopher, 64, Pall Mall, London, and New Brighton.
6th May, 1852. _Ewart, William_, M.P., 6, Cambridge square, Hyde park, London, and Broadleas, Devizes.

F

7th Feb., 1861. *Fabert, J. O. W., 3, St. James's walk.
3rd Dec., 1857. Fairbairn, William, F.R.S., Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Finlay, William, Liverpool College.
P. 15th April, 1856. *Forrest, J. A., 58, Lime street, and 5, Charlesville, Claughton, Birkenhead.
5th Dec., 1850. Forster, Wilson, Sweden bank, Ambleside.
6th March, 1862. _Fort, Richard_, M.P., Woolley hall, Maidenhead, and Read hall, Clitheroe.
23rd Sept., 1854. *Forwood, T. B., 11, Dale street, and The Hollies, Fairfield.

7th May, 1857. *Frackelton, Rev. S. S.*, A.M., Ballynahinch, Ireland.
15th Dec., 1853. Franks, Augustus Woollaston, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.
6th Jan., 1853. *French, Gilbert Jas.*, F.S.A., F.G.H.S., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Bolton.
7th Jan., 1858. Frost, Meadows, 25, The Albany, Oldhall street, and St. John's house, Chester.

G

14th Dec., 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, and Newsham house.
3rd May, 1849. Garnett, Wm. James, M.P., Quernmore park, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, Exchange court, Exchange street East.
7th Feb., 1859. *Gath, Samuel, 45, Shaw street, Everton.
18th Dec., 1856. *Gerard, Henry, 10, Rumford place.
P. 20th Nov., 1856. *Gibson, A. Craig, F.S.A., Stonesfield, Bebington, Birkenhead, Hon. Librarian.
P. 1st May, 1862. *Gibson, J. H., 144, Vauxhall road.
5th Nov., 1863. *Gibson, Thomas, 37, Oxford street.
3rd Dec., 1863. Gill, Chapple, Gateacre.
6th March, 1862. *Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E.*, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer, 11, Carlton house terrace, London, S.W., President.
4th Dec., 1862. *Goodier, Thomas, 9, Lord street.
19th Dec., 1852. *Graves, Samuel Robert, M.P., 13, Redcross st.
21st Sept., 1854. Gray, Rev. R. H., A.M., Kirkby, Prescot.
14th Dec., 1848. Gray, Thomas, Manager and Secretary, Unity Insurance office, London.
6th Feb., 1851. Gray, William, M.P., Darcy Lever hall, Bolton.
2nd Dec., 1858. *Greame, Malcolm, Colonial buildings, Dale st.
4th Dec., 1862. Green, John Henry, Buenos Ayres.
23rd Nov., 1848. Greenall, Rev. Richard, A.M., Incumbent of Stretton, R.D., Stretton, Warrington.
16th Sept., 1854. Greene, John Stock Turner, Adlington hall, Chorley.
1st Dec., 1864. *Greenwood, Henry, 32, Castle street.
31st Aug., 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.
19th March, 1857. *Grimmer, W. Henry, Prince's buildings, 30, North John street.
13th March, 1862. Grosvenor, Rt. Hon. the Earl, M.P., Calveley, Tarporley.

H

1st Dec., 1864. *Haigh, Thomas, 47, Boundary lane.
21st May, 1857. *Hall, Charlton R., 19, Dale street, and Liscard castle, Birkenhead.
10th Dec., 1857. *Hancock, Thomas S., Sweeting street, and Birkenhead.

6th April, 1865. *Harding, Joseph, Marlborough house, Claughton, Birkenhead.
P. 6th March, 1856. Hardwick, Charles, 33, Lower Ormond street, All Saints' square, Chorlton, Manchester.
12th Jan., 1854. *Harrison, William*, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.R.S. North. Ant., &c., Galligreaves hall, Blackburn, Conservative club, St. James's street, and R. T. Y. C., Albemarle street, London.
9th Feb., 1864. *Harrowby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor square, London.
23rd April, 1857. *Hartington, Most Noble the Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, & Devonshire house, London.
10th Feb., 1853. **Hartley, John Bernard*, The Grove, Allerton.
P. 11th Oct., 1854. *Hartnup, J., F.R.A.S., Observatory.
14th April, 1864. *Haughton, Thomas, Blue Coat Hospital.
23rd Nov., 1848. Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London.
8th Dec., 1864. Heald, Thomas, Greenfield, Billinge, Wigan.
27th Sept., 1854. *Healey, Samuel R., 48, Castle street, and West bank, Woolton.
24th Oct., 1854. Heginbottom, George, Birkdale park, Southport.
4th May, 1865. *Heintz, Louis W., Lancaster buildings, Tithebarn street.
8th May, 1856. *Henderson, William, 13, Church street, and Rock park, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin*, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.S., Claremont, Manchester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Thomas*, F.S.A., Hope end, Ledbury, Herefordshire.
P. 12th Sept., 1854. Higgins, Rev. Henry H., A.M., Rainhill.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Hill, Rev. John Wilbraham, M.A., Waverton, Cheshire.
P. 21st Sept., 1854. Hill, Samuel, 22, Cannon street West, and 44, Bernard street, Russell square, London.
26th April, 1855. *Hinde, Rev. Edmund, A.M.
P. 8th Dec., 1851. Hinde, John Hodgson, Stelling hall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
23rd Sept., 1854. *Hindmarsh, Fred.*, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Bucklersbury, London.
12th Jan., 1860. *Holden, Adam, 48, Church street.
18th Dec., 1856. *Holden, Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.
13th Feb., 1862. Holt, Chas., Beech house, Sharples, near Bolton.
24th Sept., 1854. *Holt, William D., 23, Edge lane.
10th May, 1860. *Hornby, Gerard, 177, Breck road, and 36, South Castle street.
1st Dec., 1864. *Hornby, William Pitt, North Western bank (Limited), Dale street.
7th May, 1857. *Horner, W., 34, South Castle street, and Eldon house, Oxton.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Horsfall, Thomas Berry, M.P., Bellamour hall, Staffordshire.
6th Dec., 1860. *Houghton, James, 84, Rodney street.
14th April, 1853. **Houghton, Richard H., jun.*, Sandheys, Waterloo.
4th Dec., 1856. *Howell, Edward, 6, Church street.
Mayor Lan., 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, Lancaster.
P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Howson, Rev. John Saul, D.D., Principal of Liverpool College.
27th Sept., 1854. *Hubback, Joseph, 1, Brunswick street, and Aigburth.
P. 10th Dec., 1857. *Hughes, John R., 67, Rock view, South hill road.
16th Sept., 1854. *Hughes, J. B., 5, Wesley place, and 4, Clayton square.
6th April, 1854. *Hughes, Thomas, 2, Groves terrace, Chester.
8th Feb., 1862. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst grange, Preston.
Mayor Ch. 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Chester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Hume, Rev. Abraham*, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.S.S., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24, Fitz-Clarence street, Vice-President.
21st May, 1857. *Hume, Hamilton*, F.R.G.S., Cooma, Yass, New South Wales.
6th Jan., 1859. *Hunt, Richard, 9, Castle street, and Linacre Marsh, Bootle.
11th Feb., 1864. *Hussey, John, Church street, Birkenhead.
9th Dec., 1853. *Hutchison, Robert, 12, Sweeting street, and 6, Canning street.

J

1st April, 1852. *Jacob, John Gibborn, 56, Church street.
5th Dec., 1861. *Jackson, William, Bedford road, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton lodge, Preston.
P. 2nd May, 1861. *Jeffery, F. J., Lodge lane.
21st May, 1857. *Jeffery, James Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and 11, Lodge lane.
23rd Nov., 1854. *Jeffery, William Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and 15, Deane street.
1st Dec., 1864. *Johnson, D., Brougham terrace.
23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church street, and Southport.
23rd Sept., 1854. Jones, Edward, The Larches, Handsworth.
3rd Jan., 1861. *Jones, George, 36, Hanover street.
3rd May, 1849. *Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw street.
2nd Dec., 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.
6th Dec., 1849. *Jones, Roger L., 1, Belvidere road, Prince's park.
15th Sept., 1854. Jones, Thomas, B.A., Chetham Library, Manchester.
11th Dec., 1856. Jones, W. Hope, Hooton, Chester.

K

5th Dec., 1861. Kendal, John, Fishergate, Preston.

P. 3rd May, 1849. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington.
11th Dec., 1856. Kershaw, James, M.P., Oaklands, Victoria park, Manchester.
4th Dec., 1862. *King, Lieut.-Col. Vincent Ashfield, 18, Tower chambers, and Point of Ayr, Oxton.
5th Nov., 1863. *King, John Thomson, Clayton square.
21st May, 1857. *Kitchen, Joseph, Exchange street East, and Oak house, West Derby.

L

6th March, 1862. *Laird, John, M.P., Hamilton square, Birkenhead.
LANCASHIRE, THE HIGH SHERIFF OF, VICE-PRESIDENT *ex officio*.
23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Knutsford.
1st Dec., 1859. *Legh, W. J.*, Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.
10th Dec., 1857. *Leigh, Major Egerton*, The West hall, High Leigh, Knutsford.
4th March, 1858. Lindsay, Right Hon. the Lord, M.P., Haigh hall, Wigan.
23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowson, Hooton, Chester.
*LIVERPOOL, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT *ex officio*.
6th Jan., 1853. *Longton, John, Peter's place, Rumford street, and Breck road.

M

6th March, 1862. McCorquodale, Lieut.-Colonel G., Newton-le-Willows.
14th Feb., 1861. McGill, Robert, Copperas hill, St. Helens.
15th April, 1858. *McInnes, J., 23, Lightbody street.
P. 3rd March, 1853. *Macintyre, Peter, M.D.
27th Sept., 1854. *Macfie, Robert Andrew, 30, Moorfields, and Ashfield hall, Neston.
23rd Nov., 1848. *M'QUIE, PETER ROBINSON, 9, Brunswick street, and Thornton lodge, Merton road, Bootle.
5th May, 1853. **Macrae, John Wrigley*, 22, Hackin's hey, and Seaforth house, Seaforth.
6th Dec., 1849. *M'Viccar, Duncan, Abercromby square, and 7, Exchange buildings.
3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, the Lord Bishop of*, F.R.S., F.G.S., Mauldeth hall, Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Marsden, George, Vernon priory, Edge hill.
1st Dec., 1859. Marsh, John, Rann lea, Rainhill.
P. 5th June, 1851. MARSH, JOHN FITCHETT, Fairfield house, Warrington, VICE-PRESIDENT.
1st Dec., 1864. Marson, James, Warrington.
1st Dec., 1864. *Mathews, John, Highfield, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
6th March, 1862. *MATHISON, WM., 1, Adelaide terrace, Waterloo.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S., F. R. S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Associé étranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Anti., de Normandie, l'Ouest et la Morinie, Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord street.
10th Feb., 1859. Meaden, Henry Peter, F.C.S.
P. 15th April, 1858. *Mercer, Nathan, F.C.S., 7, Church street.
1st Dec., 1864. *Millichap, G. T., 30, Bold street.
2nd Jan., 1862. Milligan, James, jun., Longview, Huyton.
21st Feb., 1861. Mills, John, Middle School, Warrington.
20th May, 1860. Mills, Robert, F.S.A., F.G.S., 27, Promenade, Rochdale.
P. 21st Dec., 1854. *Milner, William, 322, Upper Parliament street, and Phœnix Safe Works, Windsor.
3rd Dec., 1857. Moore, Rev. Richard R., B.A., Bewsey street, Warrington.
P. 8th Nov., 1849. Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Midleton College, County Cork.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James, A.M., Upton, Cheshire.
P. 7th March, 1850. *Mott, Albert J., 21, South Castle street, and 51, Rodney street.
3rd Dec., 1863. Moubert, Adolphus, Garswood-Ashton, Warrington.
3rd Dec., 1857. Moult, William, 21, Leigh street, and Knowsley.
21st May, 1857. *Mozley, Charles, Beaconsfield, Woolton.
11th Dec., 1856. Myres, John James, Bank parade, Preston.

N

3rd Dec., 1863. Naylor, Benjamin Dennison, Altrincham, Manchester.
H.S. Ches. 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton hall, Chester.
15th April, 1858. *Newlands, J., Public Offices, Cornwallis street.
19th March, 1863. Newsham, Richard, Preston.
23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.
29th Sept., 1854. *Nottingham, John, M.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.S. Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 20, Roscommon street.

O

P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury park, Chepstow.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Overend, James, 55, Hope street.
3rd Dec., 1857. Oxley, Frederick, 31, John street, Bedford row, London, W.C.

P

23rd Nov., 1858. *Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord street.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Parker, Charles Stewart, Bank chambers, Cook street.

18th Dec., 1856. Parker, Robert Townley, Cuerdon hall, Preston.
7th March, 1850. *Patten, John Wilson*, M.P., Bank hall, Warrington.
2nd Nov., 1854. Patterson, Andrew, Principal of the Deaf and Dumb Institution, Manchester.
6th Dec., 1849. Pearce, George Massie, Hackin's hey, and Ormskirk.
11th Dec., 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, 9, Queen's gate, Prince Albert road, South Kensington, London, S.
23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Richard, Kirkham, Preston.
8th Dec., 1851. Perrin, Joseph, Polygon Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.
1st Dec., 1864. Perry, Rev. S. G. F., Incumbent of Tottington, near Bury.
21st March, 1861. Petty, Thomas Shaw, Preston.
P. 6th Jan., 1849. *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Queen Insurance buildings, Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree.
3rd May, 1849. Pierpoint, Benjamin, St. Austin's, Warrington.
23rd Nov., 1848. Pilkington, James, M.P., Park place House, Blackburn,
10th Feb., 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.
1st Dec., 1864. *Porter, John, Clayton square.
8th Dec., 1864. *Portor, Thomas A., 9, Church street, Everton.
12th March, 1857. *Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert, 13, Vernon street, Dale street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
6th Dec., 1849. *Preston, William, 13, Vernon street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
14th Jan., 1864. *Priest, Thomas E., Clarendon rooms, South John street.

R

23rd Sept., 1854. *Rathbone, William, 24, Water street, & Greenbank, Wavertree.
15th March, 1849. Rawlinson, Robert, C.E., F.G.S., Sanitary Commissioner, Local Government Act Office, 8, Richmond terrace, Whitehall, and Lancaster lodge, Boltons, West Brompton, London, S.W.
13th Sept., 1854. *Raynes, James Trevelyan, 37, Oldhall street, and Rock park, Rock Ferry.
5th Dec., 1861. *Read, Joseph, Linden house, Laurel road, Fairfield.
29th Dec., 1854. Rees, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
3rd Dec., 1863. Rhodocanakis, H. H. the Prince, Manchester.
3rd May, 1864. *Richardson, James, jun.
20th Dec., 1855. Robin, Rev. P. R., A.M., Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
1st Dec., 1864. *Robinson, John, 41, Lord street.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Ronald, Robert Wilson, 19, Dale street.
15th April, 1858. Rooke, Rev. W. J. E., Tunstal Vicarage, Kirby Lonsdale.
11th Feb., 1864. *Rowe, Charles, Elm house, Anfield.
15th April, 1858. Rowlinson, W., Windermere.

P. 1st Dec., 1864. *Rundell, W. W., 21, Exchange buildings.
25th Sept., 1854. Rylands, Peter, Bewsey house, Warrington.
P. 13th Dec., 1854. Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.L.S., F.G.S., Warrington.

S

3rd Jan., 1861. Samuelson, Edward, Roby.
6th Dec., 1855. *Sandbach, W. R., Bank buildings, Cook street, and The Cottage, Aigburth.
P. 7th Sept., 1851. *Sansom, Thomas, F.B.S.E., 18, Breckfield road South, Everton.
19th March, 1863. Satterthwate, Edward, Lancaster.
H.S. Lan., 1862. Saunders, W. A. F., Wennington hall, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Scholfield, Henry D., M.D.
3rd Dec., 1863. Scott, George, 53, Burlington street, Greenheys, Manchester.
8th Jan., 1852. Sharp, John, The Hermitage, Lancaster.
2nd June, 1853. *Sharpe, William*, 102, Piccadilly, London.
14th Jan., 1864. *Sharp, William, 17, Brunswick street, and Alton villa, Oxton, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. Sharpe, Edmund, A.M., Cwm Alyn, Llanrwst, North Wales.
1st Dec., 1855. *Shawe, J. R.
7th Feb., 1850. *Sherlock, Cornelius, 22, King street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel*, A.M., St. Thomas's Parsonage, Douglas, Isle of Man.
23rd Nov., 1848. Skaife, Thomas, 32, Sussex place, Regent's park, London.
P. 16th April, 1863. *Smith, Henry Ecroyd, Aldboro' house, Egremont, Birkenhead, Hon. Curator.
2nd May, 1850. **Smith, James*, Seaforth.
16th Sept., 1864. Smith, John, Langley, near Macclesfield.
6th Jan., 1853. *Smith, William Penn, 26, Hanover street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Snowball, J. G.
4th Dec., 1862. Somerville, Thomas, LL.D., Hawthorn hall, Wilmslow, Manchester.
12th March, 1863. *Squarey, Andrew Tucker, Apsley villas, Lower Bebington.
2nd Nov., 1854. Stainer, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
3rd Jan., 1856. *Staniforth, Rev. Thomas*, Storrs, Windermere.
6th March, 1862. *Stanley, The Lord*, M.P., Knowsley hall, Lancashire, and 23, Saint James's square, London, S.W.
5th Feb., 1863. Steele, Alexander, Ph.Dr., Bay View house, The Crescent, Douglas, Isle of Man.
13th Dec., 1855. *Steiner, F.*, Hyndburn, Accrington.
6th Nov., 1862. *Stone, George.
P. 6th March, 1862. *Stonehouse, James, 149, Phythian street.
4th March, 1852. *Sykes, James, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, 78, Rodney street, and Breckhouse, Poulton-le-fylde.

T

18th Feb., 1858. *Thompson, Henry, 153, Upper Parliament street, and 11, North John street.
13th Sept., 1854. *Thornely, Samuel, 31, Edge lane.
P. 8th Dec., 1851. *Tinne, John A., F.R.G.S., Briarley, Aigburth, Vice-President.
14th Dec., 1848. Tobin, Sir Thomas, F.S.A., Ballincollig, Cork.
8th Jan., 1852. *Torr, John, 15, Exchange buildings, and Eastham.
H.S. Lanc., 1857. Towneley, Charles, Towneley, Burnley.
P. 2nd April, 1857. *Towson, John Thomas, F.R.G.S., 47, Upper Parliament street, and Sailors' Home.
14th April, 1863. *Turner, Charles, M.P., 4, Lancelot's hey, and Dingle head.
27th Sept., 1854. *Turner, John Hayward, 23, Abercromby square.
6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
16th Dec., 1858. *Tuton, E. S., 48, Lime street.

U

8th March, 1854. *Underwood, Rev. Charles W., A.M.

V

23rd Nov., 1848. **Varty, Thomas*, Stag-stones, Penrith.
14th April, 1853. *Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier terrace, Hope street.

W

Myr. C. 1838-39, 48-49. *Walker, Sir Edward Samuel*, Berry hill, Mansfield, Notts.
11th Dec., 1856. Walmsley, Thomas, Preston.
6th March, 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire.
3rd May, 1864. *Waterhouse, John Dockray, 1, Oldhall street.
P. 5th Dec., 1861. *Waterhouse, Nicholas, Rake lane, Honorary Secretary.
17th Dec., 1857. Watts, Sir James, Manchester.
2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert*, A.M., F.S.A., Wonham manor, Reigate, Surrey.
1st Feb., 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Mosley hill, Aigburth.
P. 3rd Jan., 1856. *Welton, Thomas A.*, F.S.S., 91, Mortimer road, De Beauvoir square, London, N.
6th March, 1862. Wensleydale, Rt. Hon. the Lord, Ampthill park Ampthill.
2nd June, 1853. *Whitley, George, 5, Clayton square, and Bromborough.
9th Oct., 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Warrington.
6th June, 1850. Whitley, Rev. William, B.A., Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire.

P.	30th Nov., 1854.	Wilkinson, Thomas Turner, F.R.A.S., Corr. Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manch., Burnley.
	8th Jan., 1852.	*Willoughby, Edw. G., Marine Cottage, Tranmere.
	14th Feb., 1861.	Wilson, J. M., Hardshaw street, St. Helens.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Wood, Isaac Moreton, A.M., Newton, near Middlewich.
	7th May, 1855.	**Woodhouse, John George*, Bronté, Everton.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

	6th Feb., 1851.	Akerman, John Yonge, Hon. M.R.S.L.,; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquities; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot., France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Hon. Mem. Roy. Acad., Stockholm; Somerset House, London.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Babington, Charles Cardale, A.M., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, Cambridge.
	6th Feb., 1851.	Blaauw, William Henry, A.M., F.S.A., Beechland, Uckfield.
	6th Feb., 1851.	Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham hall, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brook street, Grosvenor square, London.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Brewster, Sir David, K.H., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.SS.L. and E., Hon. M.R.I.A.; one of the Eight Foreign Associates of the Academy of Sciences, in the Imperial Institute of France; and Hon. or Corr. Member of the Academies of Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Munich, Göttingen, Turin, and Modena; and Principal of the University of Edinburgh; College, Edinburgh, and Allerly, Roxburghshire.
	1st Nov., 1860.	Brown, James, New York, U.S.A.
	6th Feb., 1851.	Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A. Newc., 7, Eldon square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
P.	1st Feb., 1855.	Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A., Saffron Walden, Essex.
	19th May, 1859.	Cochet, M. L'Abbe, Inspector of Antiquities and Monuments in Normandy, Dieppe.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Gray, John Edward, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., V.P.Z.S., Pres. Entom. Soc., &c., British Museum, London.
P.	27th Sept., 1854.	Latham, R. Gordon, M.D., F.R.S., Greenford, Middlesex.
	9th Dec., 1852.	MacAdam, Robert, 18, College square East, Belfast.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey, G.C. St. S., A.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.L.S., F.G.S., V.P.R. Geogr. S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland; Trust. Brit. Mus.; Hon. Mem. Acadd. St. Petersburgh, Berlin, Copenhagen; Corr. Mem. Inst. France, &c., 16, Belgrave square, London.

	27th Sept., 1854.	Owen, Richard, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., British Museum, London.
P.	7th May, 1851.	Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 10, St. Leonard's terrace, Maida hill West, London.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Phillips, John, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Professor of Geology, and Keeper of the University Museum, Oxford; Hon. Mem. Imp. Acad., Moscow; Société Vaudoise, &c., Oxford.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Rosse, the Earl of, K.P., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., Birr Castle, Parsonstown, Ireland.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Sabine, Major-General Edward, R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Pres. R.S., F.R.A.S., 13, Ashley place, London, S.W., and Woolwich.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Sedgwick, Rev. Adam, A.M., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Woodwardian Professor, Trinity College, Cambridge.
P.	6th Feb., 1851.	Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Member of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiq. Copenhagen, Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., France, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morinie, Abbeville, Picardy, Wiesbaden, Luxemburg, Treves, Touraine, &c., Temple place, Strood, Kent.
	27th Sept., 1854.	Whewell, Rev. William, D.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Corr. Mem. of the Institute of France, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
	6th Feb., 1851.	Willis, Rev. Robert, A.M., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge, and 23, York terrace, Regent's park, London.
P.	27th Sept., 1854.	Wright, Thomas, A.M., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., Member of the Institute of France; of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiqs. Copenhagen; Hon. Mem. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of France; Corresp. Mem. Soc. Antiq. Normandy; of Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, &c., 14, Sydney street, Brompton, London.

TRANSACTIONS.

ON THE DRUIDICAL ROCK BASINS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BURNLEY.

By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S. &c.

(Read 15th December, 1864.)

Pendle Hill and Boulsworth form two of the highest points of the Pennine chain on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The former lies a few miles from the boundary line between the two counties; whilst the latter, resting its base in both, throws off its "becks" and "brooks" respectively west and east into the Irish Sea and the German Ocean.

The border district of East Lancashire is remarkably wild and dreary. Its many hills, varying in height from about 1,300 to at least 1,800 feet above the level of the sea, are far beyond the limit of profitable cultivation, and hence have been little modified by the hand of man. Most of the moors are nominally parcelled out amongst the neighbouring landed proprietors; but in general they are little more than waste lands, plentifully stocked with game, and traversed only by a few sheep during the Summer season. In the Autumn, however, they mostly lose their dreary character, and may even be said to present a beautiful aspect. From the crests of the highest hills, the densely wooded ravines stretch far away between the lower ridges towards the more

expanded valleys below. The gently undulating surfaces which separate these are then clothed with a luxuriant crop of blooming heather, whose ever-varying hues, as it is bent by the passing breeze, add an almost inexpressible charm to the surrounding landscape.

It is amongst these wild and dreary wastes that the eye of the geologist will not fail to observe the immense masses of weather-worn rock and boulders of the millstone grit formation which rear their heads above the heather and seem, by their numbers and positions, to have been scattered abroad in the wildest profusion by some freak of nature. A little closer examination, however, will convince him that most of these occupy very nearly their original positions. All the detached boulders are of the same coarse sandstone; and their parent rocks may be seen *in situ* at no great distance. Some of the groups may represent the ruins of ancient sea-cliffs, which have almost become levelled by the hand of time; others seem to have been transported from higher to lower levels; and all pretty nearly indicate the outcrops of the strata which form the boundaries of the faults between the millstone grits and the succeeding limestone shales. On a former occasion I directed the attention of this Society (vol. ix, pp. 21-42) to the ancient fortifications, tumuli &c., which still exist on the lower ridges of the hills in East Lancashire. They formed an important item in my attempt to fix the site of the Battle of Brunanburh in the neighbourhood of Burnley; but, apart from this, they are interesting in themselves, as illustrating the modes of defence adopted by the different races of people which have successively occupied this portion of our county. In that communication I hinted that some of these remains pointed rather towards religious rites than the exigencies of war. On further examination I am still more inclined to suppose that one or two of these circular, or "Druid Barrows," as Dr. Stukely termed them, (Fosbroke's *Antiquities*, vol. ii,

p. 544), were formed by the Ancient Britons for sacred purposes. This is more particularly the case with those on Broad Bank and Hellclough Hill, two marked prominences on opposite sides of Thorsden Valley. The name of the "clough" and hill just mentioned suggests sepulchral rites, and the existence of tumuli in the immediate vicinity renders the conjecture at least not improbable.

But these are not the only instances in the neighbourhood of Burnley where traces of Druidical worship may be found. Dr. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, notices the existence of ROCK BASINS, which appear to have been scooped out of the granite rocks and boulders which lie on the tops of the hills in that county. Several such cavities are found on Brimham Rocks, near Knaresborough. They are also instanced by Messrs. Britton and Brayley as occurring on Stanton Moor in Derbyshire. Allen, in his *History of Yorkshire*, vol. iii, pp. 421-425, notices their existence at Plumpton and Rigton; and I have now the pleasure of announcing to this Society that they are found in considerable numbers around Boulsworth, Gorple, Todmorden, and on the hills which separate Lancashire from Yorkshire between these places.

If we commence our enumeration of the groups of boulders &c., containing rock basins, with the slopes of Boulsworth, about seven miles from Burnley, we have first the Standing Stones, which are mostly single blocks of millstone grit, situated at short distances from each other on the north-western side of the hill. One of these is locally termed the Buttock Stone, and near it is a block which has a circular cavity scooped out on its flat upper surface. Not far from these are the Joiner Stones, the Abbot Stone, the Weather Stones, and Lad Law Stones. The last name is certainly suggestive of the religious rites of the Ancient Druids, (Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua*, p. 126); for Lad may mean

"Llad" (*British*), and if so, it points towards the *sacrifices*, offered by the ancient Britons on these rugged mountain tops, to Taram, the equivalent to the Scandinavian Thor. Their situation, too, so near Thorsden Valley, adds another item in favour of the probability.

We come next to the Great and Little Saucer Stones, so named from the cavities scooped out upon them. One of these may be noticed in passing, as it is of an oval form and large dimensions. This basin is now imperfect; for the oscillations of the water in the cavity, produced by strong winds, or some other causes, appear to have worn away the lip, so that the water now flows over the edge of the stone at a lower level than when the contour was complete. This appears to be the case with many others; and in some instances the cavities have been completely filled up by the encroaching soil and heather. The Little Chair Stones, the Fox Stones, and the Broad Head Stones, lie at no great distance, each group containing numerous cavities similar in character to those just described. Several of these groups of boulders have evidently obtained their local designations from a supposed resemblance they have to the animals, or other objects, whose names they bear. The Grey Stones, and the Steeple Stones, on Barn Hill, are examples in point; and the whole of one spur of Boulsworth is termed Wycoller Ark, from its fancied resemblance to a farmer's chest, or to the ordinary pictures of Noah's capacious ship.

There are several groups of natural rocks and boulders on Warcock Hill, which are locally termed Dave or Dew Stones by the resident inhabitants. These contain a considerable number of rock basins; and, although the blocks on which they are found occupy conspicuous positions, they do not seem to be arranged in any definite order. If the Druids have really used them for devotional purposes, they have evidently been satisfied with the simple order of nature. On

the surface of one immense Dave Stone boulder, whose extremity is buried far beneath the heather, there is a perfect hemispherical cavity, ten inches in diameter. The surface of another contains an oblong basin of larger dimensions, with a long grooved channel leading from its curved contour towards the edge of the stone. On a third there are four circular cavities of varying dimensions both in breadth and depth. The largest occupies the centre of the stone, and the three others are somewhat circularly disposed around it; but none of these is more than a few inches in diameter.* This is by no means a solitary instance of several cavities having been excavated on the same stone; for, at the Bride Stones, near Todmorden, I counted no fewer than *thirteen* on one block, and *eleven* on another. It is also worthy of remark that the whole of the basins both here and elsewhere are formed on the *flat* surfaces of the blocks on which they occur. Their upper surfaces are always parallel with the lamination of the stone. I have met with only one instance where this is apparently not the case; and, even in this *doubtful* exception, the cavity has been formed on a flat portion of the stone where three converging ridges meet. Not a single basin is found on those blocks which have been placed with their lines of cleavage in a vertical position.

Proceeding along Widdop Moor we find the Grey Stones, the Fold Hole Stones, the Clattering Stones, and the Rigging Stones. The last mentioned have obviously obtained their name from the circumstance of their occupying the "rig," or ridge of the hills in this locality. Many of these groups contain rock basins of a similar character to those previously described; but they possess no peculiarities of construction to require a more particular notice. Among the Bride Stones, however, there is an immense mass of rock which, with very

* I owe my knowledge of the existence of these to Mr. Joseph Whitaker of Burnley.

little modification, might be classed amongst the Rocking Stones. It measures about twenty-five feet in height, is at least twelve feet across its broadest part, and rests on a base only about two feet in diameter. The Todmorden group contains the Hawk Stones, on Stansfield Moor, not far from Stiperden Cross, on the line of the Long Causeway (*Roman Road*); the Bride Stones, near to Windy Harbour; the Chisley Stones, near to Keelham; and Hoar Law, not far from Ashenhurst Royd and Todmorden. The rock basins on these boulders are very numerous, and of all sizes, from a few inches in diameter and depth to upwards of two feet. On the occasion of my visit the wind was high, and the water in some of the basins in a state of violent oscillation. These circumstances led me to examine the *directions of the axes* of those basins which were elliptical in form, but they did not appear to follow any regular law. Had the excavation of these basins been *wholly due* to the action of wind, sand and water, one might have expected that their major axes would have tended generally from west to east, since the prevailing winds in this district are from the west; but I found nothing to warrant such a conclusion. Many of the basins contained large quantities of loose sand and quartz pebbles at the bottom of the water; but in no instance did I observe that the oscillations of the water had communicated a gyratory motion to the sand and quartz. In the deep basins the motion did not disturb the water beyond a very limited depth.

Lastly, taking Gorple (*gort*, narrow; *gor*, upper; sanies, Brit.; or *gór*, blood, A.S.),* as a centre, which lies about five miles to the south-east of Burnley, we find another extensive group of naked rocks and boulders. Close to the solitary

* If the two latter furnish the correct derivation, the name is very significant. Gor-ple will then mean the *bloody pile*. There is no *narrow* pass here as at Gor-dale Scar in Yorkshire; so that the derivation from *gort* = narrow does not apply. The Gorple Stones, however, do occupy an elevated position with respect to the others; and hence may very appropriately be termed the *upper pile*. See Spelman's *Glossary*, and Skinner's *Etymologicon*, *sub voce*.

farm house there are the Gorple Stones, so well known to travellers in this wild locality; and at a short distance the Hanging Stones form conspicuous objects in the sombre landscape. On Thistleden Dean there are the Upper, Middle and Lower Whinberry Stones—so named from the "Whinberry" shrubs with which this moor abounds. The Higher and Lower Boggart Stones come next; and these are followed by the Wicken Clough Stones—so called from the abundance of the "wicken" tree, or mountain ash, by which they are surrounded. The Boggart Stones need no explanation. Above Gorple Bottom is another set of grey stones; and these are followed by the Upper, Middle and Lower Hanging Stones, on Shuttleworth Moor. The rock basins here are very numerous and mostly well defined; several of them being almost as perfect as when newly formed. The following list of the cavities in this group will give some idea of their numbers and dimensions; and if those on the whole series of rocks and boulders were similarly tabulated they would require several pages for their enumeration. The lengths, breadths and depths are given in inches from actual measurement; and I am inclined to think that most of those which are now elliptical were once circular. The wear and tear of ages, by means of the disintegration of particles of sand, from the oscillation of water, may have produced the change of form in the upper portions of the basins.

No.	Situation.	Length	Breadth	Depth.
1	Gorple Gate	19	15	4½
2	Do.	8	8	3
3	Do.	14	14	2½
4	Do.	14	14	5
5	Do.	4	4	2
6	Hanging Stones	22	18	4½
7	Do.	22	20	13
8	Do.	30	24	10
9	Do.	10	10	2½
10	Do.	15	12	9
11	Do.	40	18	6½
12	Do.	12	8	5
13	Do.	14	14	4½
14	Do.	24	12	3½
15	Do.	28	20	9
16	Do.	22	19	6
17	Do.	23	17	9
18	Do.	19	19	8
19	Do.	20	19	5
20	Do.	13	12	3½
21	Do.	10	8	2

No.	Situation.	Length.	Breadth	Depth.
22	Hanging Stones	17	15	2½
23	Do.	12	14	2½
24	Do.	19	16	5
25	Do.	18	18	3½
26	Do.	20	12	2½
27	Do.	10	14	2½
28	Do.	7	7	2
29	Do.	6	6	1½
30	Do.	25	25	7
31	Do.	14	14	6
32	Do.	14	12	3½
33	Do.	28	24	8½
34	Do.	13	12	2½
35	Do.	17	16	5
36	Do.	6	6	2
37	Gorple Stones	22	20	10
38	Do.	10	8	2
39	Do.	19	19	4
40	Do.	22	17	3½
41	Do.	25	21	4½
42	Do.	24	19	3
43	Do.	12	10	2½

HANGING STONES.

Fig 6.

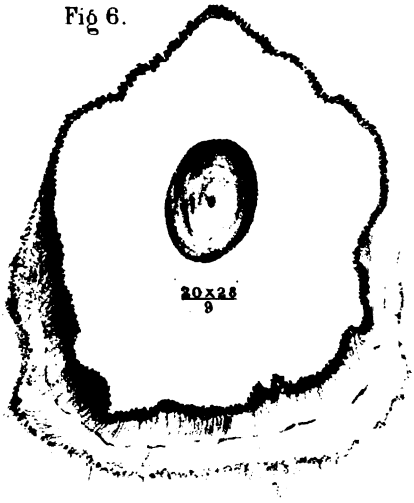


Fig 7.

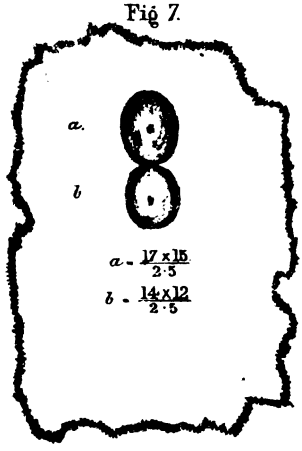


Fig 8.

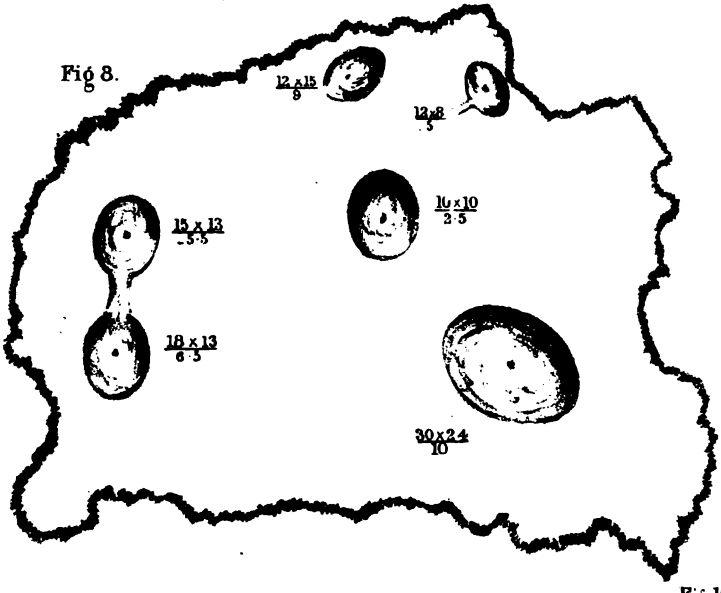


Fig 9.

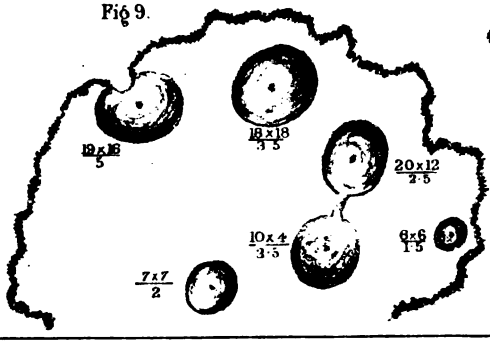
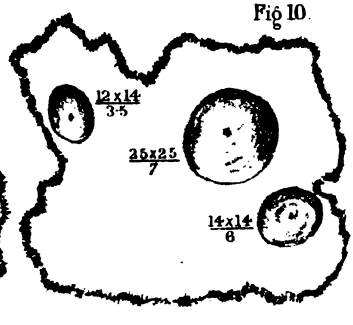


Fig 10.



CORPLE STONES

Fig 1.

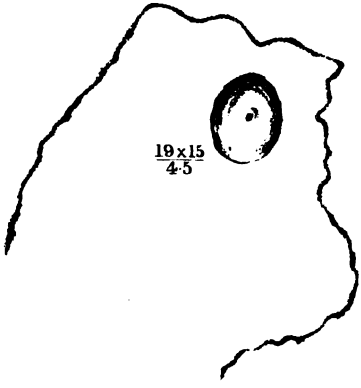
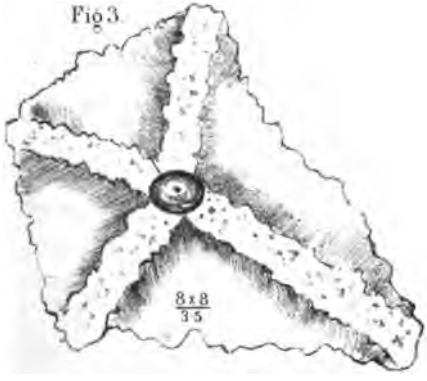


Fig 2.

Fig 3.



DAVE STONES

Fig 4.

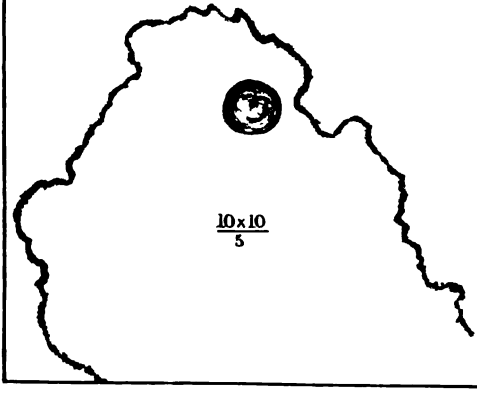
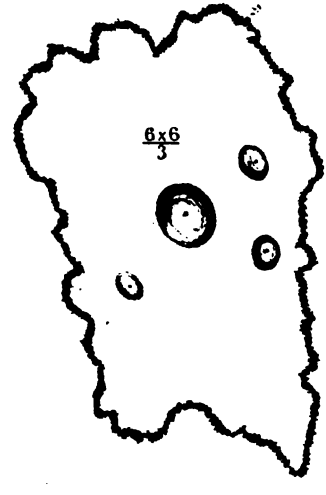


Fig 5.



When two or more basins occur on the same block they are indicated by brackets. No. 11 is a double basin, the two being connected by a groove 3½ inches in depth. A similar remark applies to Nos. 22 and 23. The stone on which No. 39 is found contains several cavities which have been partially obliterated by the disintegration of the particles of the stone; or it may be by the hammers of the workmen who formerly made millstones out of some of the smaller boulders.

Dr. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall,* confidently asserts that the ancient Druids made use of rock basins for baptismal and sacrificial purposes. The probability of this conjecture is admitted by the authors of the *Beauties of Derbyshire;* and again by Higgins, in his elaborate work on the *Celtic Druids.* This supposition also receives support from the fact of their occurring in such numbers, mostly *on the tops of the hills,* in so many counties, and in such different materials as the granite and the millstone grit formations.* Whether they have been formed by natural or artificial means is still a matter of dispute. Several are instanced as existing on Durwood Tor, which are from two to

* Dr. Borlase's argument is of a cumulative character. He observes that rock basins are always on the *top* but never on the *sides* of the stones; that the ancients sacrificed on rocks; that water was used by them for lustration and purification; that it was even consecrated and worshipped as a Deity; that it was not permitted to touch the earth; that snow, rain or dew was preferred by them to running water; that Euripides notices the practice of worshippers being "dew-" besprinkled" before going to the temples; that Pliny observes that the Greeks had "sacred rain," and preserved rain-water in cisterns to offer to their gods; that Petronius asserts that the Egyptians purified themselves with water before voting; that Job alludes to the same custom; that the Druids practised similar rites, and held rain or snow-water to be holy; that Pliny says their priests washed their feet in holy water, used lustrations, and practised baptismal rites; that the Druids attributed a healing virtue to the gods which inhabited the rocks; that they used to sleep upon rocks for the cure of lameness; that their priests stood upon rocks to wash, sprinkle and drink; that Pliny again says that the *Samolus* plant, or hedge hyssop, was bruised in small cisterns, and that small basins were used for offerings, so that by evaporation they could go to God. All these considerations, he conceives, favour his opinion that rock basins were *used,* if not *formed,* by the ancient Druids. It is beside the question to urge the improbability of all this on the ground that Cæsar and Tacitus do not expressly mention rock basins. A chapter on the rock worship of the Druids might be expected in a treatise on the Druidical rites of Britain, but not in such *general* descriptions as those contained in the works of Tacitus and Cæsar.

three feet in diameter; and Mr. Rooke, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii, p. 47, states that one of these is of an oval form, and "evidently appears to have been cut with a tool." Three others are to be seen on the same Tor, which he thinks have also been formed artificially. In the neighbourhood of Liskeard there are other basins "mostly regular and uniform, "and generally *two* together, with a spout or channel between "them." In the Scilly Isles these rock basins are not uncommon. One stone on Salakee Downs has no fewer than *thirteen* scooped out upon it; and Dr. Borlase has no doubt of their artificial formation. On the other hand, Messrs. Britton and Brayley are of opinion that most of those in Cornwall are "certainly natural." They would be prepared to accept Dr. Borlase's theory of their artificial formation, provided the figures in his work "were to be considered apart "from any others;" but unfortunately, as they conceive, "the *gradation* of the excavations is quite regular, from the "largest rock basins, five or six feet in diameter, to the most "minute indentations. They also exist in such numbers, and "in all situations, as utterly to exclude the hand of man from "the great mass; and therefore to make some *natural* and "*unknown* process most probable in all." (*Beauties of Cornwall*, p. 509.) In this opinion they are supported by Dr. Maton, on the ground that the rocks on which the basins occur, "exhibit awful vestiges of convulsion." Whether this be a sufficient reason for their formation by natural means may be left to the reader. It must have been a somewhat *orderly* convulsion which scooped out so many *regularly formed* cavities in such hard material as the Cornish granite.

I do not propose to enter at any great length into the controversy on these points; my object being more particularly to place on record the fact of the existence of rock basins in these localities. Mr. Joseph Whitaker, a very competent geologist, who accompanied me over a portion of the district, after

carefully examining many of them, was not then prepared to pronounce a definite opinion on their origin. He thought much might be said in favour of natural causes; but, at the same time, allowed that the advocates of the opposite view have several good grounds for assuming that "the hand of "man" had something to do with their construction. My own opinion is, that the rock basins of Scilly, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Yorkshire and East Lancashire are partly natural and partly artificial;—the former being comparatively few and easily distinguished by their varying depths and forms. Their numbers, their general characteristics, their situations and their occurrence in such totally different geological formations, and in so many counties, appear to me to leave scarcely any other alternative. Higgins, in his *Celtic Druids*, p. 61, expresses a similar opinion. The accidental loosening of a quartz pebble, and the consequent disintegration of the stone by the water which lodges in the cavity, may account for some of the smaller and most irregular indentations; but it is difficult to conceive how these means can produce such marked regularity of form as everywhere prevails. Natural decay, acting from special centres, cannot have produced these basins; since they mostly occur on the hardest and soundest blocks. Again the round, or rather spheroidal masses or nodules, so frequently met with in some of the coal strata, do not occur, so far as I am aware, in either the granite or the millstone grit. The cavities, therefore, cannot have been formed by the removal of these; nor, again, does the action of running water upon small hard pebbles, revolving at first in slight natural indentations, seem sufficient to explain all their remarkable characteristics.* It cannot, for instance, easily

* That rock basins can be formed by the action of small pebbles is well shewn at the Strid, on the banks of the Wharfe, near Bolton Abbey. Dr. Whitaker thus alludes to some which have been thus formed near to Holme, his family residence. "The original fractures [of the Cliviger Gorge] have not, and could "not have been occasioned by water: but what that powerful agent has been "able to effect, under circumstances most favourable to its operation, *in narrow "clefts and deep waterfalls*, is this:—it has worn away the first asperities, it has

account for their almost perfect hemispherical form, and the long grooved channels by which, in every locality, some of them have been united. Wavelets pushed over the edges of the basins by strong winds do not supply a sufficient cause; for then grooves would form the *rule* and not the exception.

On the whole it appears to me safe to conclude that these rock basins, whether wholly or partially natural or artificial, have been appropriated to the worship of the Druids. They furnish the means by which they could offer their sacrifices and perform their ablutions.* They would also suffice for baptism, and preserve the rain or the dew from being polluted by touching our "mother earth." The Tolmen on the neighbouring hills, as noticed in Watson's *History of Halifax*, pp. 27-36, may be taken as an additional reason for associating Druidical worship with such remains. These contain small basins on their summits which differ in no respect from those previously enumerated. They have therefore most probably been used for similar purposes.

The subject may now be left to the judgment of the reader. He has most of the evidence for and against within his reach; and whether my conclusions be adopted or rejected, he will probably not be displeased to find a record of these remains in the Transactions of this Society.

"wrought by the attrition of pebbles a few *rock basons* on the sides; and, in the "course of thousands of years, it has excavated a foot or two from the rock at "the point of its projection." (*History of Whalley*, 3rd edition, London, 1818, p. 371.)

* Mr. King, in the *Reader* for 17th December, 1864, thus speaks of the "mysterious megalithic monuments of New Grange and Dowth," near the Boyne. "Instead of being sepulchral, as some imagine, I cannot but think that the "Boyne antiquities have been erected for religious purposes, as caves wherein "Druid priests performed their mystic rites. The huge stone basins, (one of "granite, one of sandstone, and another, broken, apparently of schist,) each "occupying one of the three recesses terminating the long entrance passages in "the New Grange mound, may have been used for sacrificial or baptismal "purposes." This opinion is in accordance with what is stated in the text, and adds weight to my conjectures.

THE ANCIENT BOROUGH OF OVER, CHESHIRE.

By Thomas Rigby Esq.

(Read 1st December, 1864.)

Almost every village has some little history of interest attached to it. Almost every country nook has its old church, round which moss-grown gravestones are clustered, where—

> The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

These lithic records tell us who lived and loved and laboured at the world's work long, long ago. Almost every line of railroad passes some ivy-mantled ruin that, in its prime, had armed men thronging on its embattled walls. Old halls, amid older trees—old thatched cottages, with their narrow windows, are mutely eloquent of the past. The stories our grandfathers believed in, we only smile at; but we reverence the spinning wheel, the lace cushion, the burnished pewter plates, the carved high-backed chairs, the spindle-legged tables, the wainscoted walls and cosy "ingle nooks." Hath not each its narrative? These are all interesting objects of the bygone time, and a story might be made from every one of them, could we know where to look for it.

With this feeling I have undertaken to say a few words about the ancient borough of Over in Cheshire, where I reside; and, although the notes I have collected may not be specially remarkable, they may perhaps assist some more able writer to complete a record of more importance.

Over is a small town, nearly in the centre of Cheshire. It consists of one long street, crossed at right angles by Over

Lane, which stretches as far as Winsford, and is distant about two miles from the Winsford station on the London and North-Western Railway. The Borough of Over embraces the townships of Over, Marton and Swanlow and contains about 5,000 inhabitants, who find occupation in agricultural pursuits and in the numerous extensive salt-works lying along the banks of the neighbouring River Weaver.

Over has a Mayor, who is appointed annually, and who exercises the duty of a Magistrate within the limits of the borough during his year of office; but, unlike other boroughs, it has no Councillors constituting a Corporation, nor does it return any member to Parliament. It is mentioned in Domesday Book, and is there spelt "Ovre" and reported as a borough by prescription or by immemorial custom; but it probably attained its position amongst English boroughs by special charter. "Houses joined together, or rows of houses "close to each other" might be the foundation of it; but, without the protection of the King or of some neighbouring Baron, the trade of the inhabitants would be liable to the raids of neighbouring foragers, who would rob and lay waste without let or hindrance except for the resistance of individuals in defence of their own. In those days "might gave right;"

> The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can!

The state of the people of Darnhall, a township adjoining Over, was a complete serfdom or vassalage to the monastery of Vale Royal adjacent. They could not marry their daughters out of the manor without permission. The monastery tenants had to resort to the abbey mills and pay pasturage for their hogs. When any native died, the Abbot became entitled to "his pigs "and capons, his horses at grass, his domestic horse, his bees, "his pork, his linen and woollen clothes, his money in gold "and silver and his vessels of brass." Other exactions were

made upon the poor tenants. In fact the Abbot stripped the dead of everything—leaving him nothing, by all accounts, but his winding sheet.

Although the people of Over were under the same rule, yet there is no mention of their having been in this degraded state; and it is probable, therefore, that they were protected by some charter of an early date. There is a charter existing in favour of Over, granting a weekly market and annual fair. This was obtained from the Abbot of Vale Royal and is dated the ninth of King Edward I; but no other is known to exist.

It is said by some that Over had a Mayor before Chester could boast of such a dignitary, and that the former takes precedence of the latter in this respect. Webb, who wrote two hundred years ago, says that "Over was made a Mayoral "town by means of the Abbot and convent of Vale Royal;" but Ormerod gives the name of Walter Lyneet as the first Mayor of Chester, in the twenty-sixth Henry III, A.D. 1242, which would be at least forty years before the establishment of the monastery; therefore the assumption of Over having this priority may be erroneous. It is probable that Over enjoyed the protection of the Norman kings or some powerful Baron or perhaps of the Earl of Chester, as a borough for trade, before the foundation of Vale Royal. However, it was the policy of the Norman rulers after the Conquest to confirm and enlarge the charters of previous Saxon monarchs and confer similar favours upon rising towns, and thus the allegiance of the inhabitants of such places would be secured. Henshall says, in his *History of Chester*, that "Over was "numbered among the immediate possessions of the Earl "of Chester until the fifty-fourth of Henry III, when it was "granted to the abbey of Vale Royal by Prince Edward."

It is probable that the appointment of Mayor emanated from the Abbot's inability or disinclination to attend to his magisterial duties. This potent Churchman lived in all the

splendour of a powerful Baron and possessed full judicial rights over the manors of Weaverham and Over, with which the Abbey was endowed. He had an extensive right of "advoury," affording protection to criminals fleeing from the hands of justice—Over Church being, it is believed, one of the "sanctuaries," of which there were several in the County of Chester. The Abbot of Vale Royal was invested even with the power of dealing out capital punishment. In Town fields, near Over, there are several fields or crofts called "Loonts." These are narrow strips of land, which once constituted the common rights of the Over people. One of these still bears the title of the "Gallows Loont," from its being the site on which in olden time the gallows was erected. Indeed some very old men, recently deceased, used to affirm that they recollected in their young days seeing the oak side posts of this erection.

The Abbot of Vale Royal had also the power of *Infangthef* and *Utfangthef*, with the privileges of *Tol* and *Stallagium*, and the amends of bread and ale. *Infangthef* was liberty to try and judge a thief taken within his jurisdiction; *Utfangthef* was liberty to take a thief that fled and bring him back to the place where he had committed the crime; *Tol* was an imposition for things bought and sold in the markets; while *Stallagium* was payment for privilege to stand at markets and fairs. Accompanied by his Seneschal and under Seneschal, the Prior, Bailiffs and Gentry of the neighbourhood, the Abbot used to hold his court and there receive the oaths of fidelity of the large landowners and hear their recitation of the circumstances and obligations of their tenure, and also receive the acknowledgment of suit and service from every male burgess in the borough. He appointed a Coroner to hold regular courts of law in his manors of Weaverham and Over, for the administration of justice; and in the appointment of this officer I think may be traced that of Mayor.

At the dissolution of monasteries Sir Thomas Holcroft obtained the entire manors of Weaverham and Over, with all the privileges that appertained thereto. One of these would no doubt be the legal power the Abbot held over the manor, which he would similarly exercise for his own honour. This he would transmit to his heirs and they to their assigns, Thomas and Edmund Pershall, the latter of whom transferred it by sale, about the middle of the 17th century, to Thomas Cholmondeley, a descendant of the Baron of Malpas (whose family took their name from their place of residence) in whose representative and heir, Lord Delamere, the present proprietor of Vale Royal and Lord of the Manor, the appointment of Mayor of Over is now vested and by whom it is annually exercised.

The mode of appointing the Mayor for a very long period, until recently, was thus performed. The Lord of the Manor held a Court Leet and Baron in October, when two juries were empannelled, one for the town of Over, called the "Grand Jury," and the other for the lesser townships, called the "Country Jury." Twelve of the most eligible and best qualified persons in the borough were nominated by the "Grand Jury" at this Court, and their names returned to the Lord of the Manor, who selected one of the number to serve the office of Mayor; and at another meeting of the Court, fourteen days afterwards, the person so chosen was finally appointed to the office, and was then sworn in by the Recorder of the Court; but, before entering upon the office, he had to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy at the Quarter Sessions of the County, like the county magistrates. At the same time the choice was made of the Bailiff, Constables, Burleymen and Aletasters, who were then also sworn in.

Now, however (and for a few years past), the Lord of the Manor indicates to his Law Agent, the Recorder of the

Court, the person whom he will appoint, and this gentleman communicates his Lordship's wishes to the "Grand Jury," who invariably accept the nomination and elect him there and then, thus reversing the old established mode, and constituting the jury involuntary agents to endorse the appointment, whether agreeable to them or not. The more seemly character of the former mode of choosing the Mayor is apparent, and many think it ought still to be observed.

During his year of office the Mayor acts as a magistrate. In this duty he is aided and advised by the Recorder or Clerk of the Court, who is generally a member of the legal profession. Cases of assault, disorderly conduct, drunkenness and petty theft, as well as graver offences when they occur, are brought before him, and as there is no other magistrate near, and the population is constantly increasing, the office is both arduous and responsible. He is also entitled to a seat on the bench at the County Quarter Sessions, but unless he be a man of some public spirit and education he seldom exercises this right. At the conclusion of his year of office the Mayor assumes the title of "Alderman."

The Mayors of Over are mostly selected from the tenants of the Vale Royal estate, but not exclusively, as several gentlemen resident in the borough, not Lord Delamere's tenants, have occasionally held the office. They have generally been plain men of good position and character, not much learned in the law perhaps, but quite capable, with the aid of their legal adviser, of giving a fair and correct sentence; and, to their honour be it said, they have never used their power arbitrarily, but for the most part have wisely tempered Justice with Mercy. Some of those who held the office at an early period were evidently unable to write, as "the "Mayor of Over his mark" is not uncommon in very old legal documents relating to the vicinity of the borough. There have been Kings who could do no more, and warriors

of renown whose only signature was the pommel of their sword handle.

A few ancient customs connected with the borough are beginning to be forgotten. Walking the fair is one of these. On this occasion the Mayor, arrayed in proper costume, carried a large silver mace and was met at the market-cross by some of the Aldermen who had passed the chair. After the Bailiff had recited the terms of the charter for the fair the Mayor proceeded, attended by his javelin men and a band of music, from one end of the long street in which the fair is held to the other. He distributed ribbon favours to all the landladies and waiters at the several inns. The Aldermen, Bailiff and other officers also received ribbons, as did the bandsmen and any others who joined in the train. The Mayor's outlay for ribbon frequently exceeded £20; in fact there was quite a ribbon mania on these occasions. One old lady who kept a booth used to boast that her principal profits arose from the ribbons she sold to the rustics and lads of the village who gave streamers to their Lucindas and Phœbes as fairings. The tolls arising from the cattle fair are the perquisite of the Mayor. Those arising from booths and stands are let with the *George and Dragon* Inn by Lord Delamere.

There is still an annual court held by Lord Delamere, whereat all householders in the borough are summoned to answer to their names, as acknowledgment of suit and service to his lordship, or send the sum of twopence instead. On the last court day £4 9s. 10d. was received in pursuance of this custom. Widows and spinsters are exempt. Persons who omit attendance and paying the twopence are liable to be fined one shilling. There are 900 names now on the roll, 80 per cent. of which either answer "the call" or pay the twopence, and all travellers passing through the borough while the court is sitting can be compelled to pay a like amount.

The "Mayor's feast" is held on the last day of his term of office. After dinner his successor is sworn in and honoured with the old custom of "chairing." I will briefly describe a Mayor's dinner, at which I was present last month. It was laid out in the largest room of the *George and Dragon* Inn. The Mayor, ten or twelve Aldermen, the Clerk of the Court and about thirty other inhabitants of the neighbourhood were assembled. The *George and Dragon* is about the oldest house in the borough. The height of the dining apartment is not much above seven feet, with an open ceiling crossed by five large oak beams, re-crossed with joists, and the walls cleanly whitewashed. Dinner being over, loyal and complimentary toasts, with the discussion of a good dessert and the usual generous drinks attendant upon such festivities, consumed at least a couple of hours. The juries were then summoned (who, by the way, had been dining at the cost of Lord Delamere) to elect the usual officers for the ensuing year. They presented first their Bailiff, who was duly sworn, then the Constables, Burley-men and Ale-tasters, and then the Clerk called out—"make way "for his worship the Mayor Elect of Over." This gentleman, whose election by Lord Delamere had been made known, was then duly sworn to "serve our Lady the Queen and administer "equal justice to the poor as well as the rich," and so forth. Having taken the oath his worship was seated in a chair by some of the jury, who, to evince their joy at his elevation, sought to "lift" him as high as the ceiling would allow. This very silly proceeding ought to be omitted altogether.

For an account of the Church of Over a reference to vol. vii of the Historic Society's Proceedings, page 33, will suffice; but I may say that since Mr. Stonehouse's paper appeared, a beautiful glass window has been put up in the chancel, as a memorial of the late Rev. John Jackson, M.A., who died January 28th, 1863, and was forty-two years Vicar

of the Church. His "loving pupils," as the inscription states, incurred the expense of this appropriate exhibition of good feeling and reverence for their former master.

There is but little record of public doings or of the scenes of gaiety or gravity that have been enacted in the ancient borough. In a rare pamphlet, entitled *Cheshire's Success*, dated March 25th, 1642, describing the movements of the Parliamentary army and that of the King, written evidently by a Parliament man, we read—"Sir Thomas Aston and "his party in Chester, recovering strength after their late "overthrow, exercised the same in mischief and all wicked "outrages;" and instances "on the Sabbath, March 12, having "a little before advanced to Middlewich, they plundered "all that day as a most proper season for it, and commanded "the carts in all the country about to carry away the goods "to Tarporley, and kept a fair there to sell them. In Over, "when they had plundered, they left ratbane in the houses, "wrapt in paper for the children, which by God's providence "was taken from them before they could eat it, after their "parents durst return to them."

Vale Royal, the seat of Lord Delamere, deserves more than the mere passing description that can be here given. The old Abbey must have been an imposing structure, as it occupied fifty-three years in the course of erection; and no less a sum than £32,000 was expended out of the Royal Treasury as the cost of it. Its origin is said to have been as follows:—Prince Edward on returning from the Holy Land at the conclusion of the eighth crusade, was overtaken by a terrific storm, and the safety of himself and all on board his ship was imperilled. When the jeopardy in which the ship was placed seemed to be at the highest, the Prince prayed to the Virgin to save it and all on board, vowing to erect a Monastery in her honour if his prayer should be granted. The instant the vow was made the storm ceased, and the passen-

gers and crew safely landed, when the winds again arose and the ship was dashed to pieces. In gratitude Edward erected an Abbey at Darnhall, the monks of which were afterwards removed to Vale Royal.

Amongst the curious old houses erected in this vicinity Marton Grange or Hall was the most picturesque. It has been pulled down about fourteen years. On this farm there was a sudden subsidence of a plot of land two years ago, similar to that mentioned by Ormerod as having occurred in the neighbourhood of Weaver Hall, near Over, and caused most likely by the underlying salt deposits yielding to the influence of under-currents of water, which are being constantly pumped up in the shape of brine at the salt manufactories adjacent. Through these latter the river Weaver runs its course, and is navigable from Winsford to Weston Point, where it falls into the Mersey.

In this vicinity is Lea Hall, once the residence of Dr. Fothergill. It is a square dwelling, having walls at least three feet thick, and it was formerly surrounded by a moat, a portion of which still remains. The staircases are wide and the rooms wainscoted and lofty. There are other halls in the neighbourhood deserving of notice, such as Darnhall Hall, Wettenhall Hall, and Minshull Hall. The ancient city of Eddisbury, in the Forest of Delamere, was erected by Queen Ethelfleda in 915: at the top of the hill are indications of ancient earthworks which are said to be the remains of it.

THE ENGLAND OF SHAKSPEARE.

By Nicholas Waterhouse Esq., Hon. Sec.

(Read 10th November, 1864.)

During the present year, the tercentenary of Shakspeare's birth, I presume we have all of us paid a more than usual attention to the works of the great bard of Avon: and I think whilst reading his plays, the question must have occurred to many—Who were his masters? Where did he acquire the wonderful power of depicting the many forms and phases of the mind of man? Where did the boy from a country grammar school, who married before he was twenty, and whose early life was immersed in the labour of supporting a family—where did he gain those poetic powers, which have made his name one of the glories of our country? Were Shakspeare's works inspired, or perhaps I should say, were they the results of intuition? I think when we look at his principal characters we may say that such was the case. For instance, the great master has determined to delineate a royal scapegrace repenting and assuming the duties of his station, and immediately the character of Henry V, imbued with all the nobleness and majesty of birth, arises from his magic touch. Again he wishes to depict a king fitted for the cloister, not for the troubles of a crown, and there appears the gentle monarch Henry VI, singing the praises of a lowly life even amid the din of battle. In the character of Wolsey, Shakspeare has drawn the portrait of a proud, ambitious

Churchman. In Richard III, the personification of guile, "seeming a saint when most he played the devil." In Jaques, the musings of a melancholy, contemplative man. In Shylock, the all-absorbing love of money. In Othello, of jealousy. In Cassius, the conspirator with lean and hungry look. In Falstaff, the career of a man who lived by his wits and his vices. In Romeo and Juliet, the tale that "true love "never did run smooth," not even amid the orange-groves and balmy air of sunny Italy. In Macbeth, the horrible path cut out by unscrupulous ambition. And in Hamlet, the man of noble aspirations, feeling the dreadful circumstances of his lot in life, and moralizing on the deepest instincts of our being. I think we cannot regard these in any other light than as the results of intuition; they rose so naturally under his pencil that he never thought there was anything extraordinary about them; he never attempted to preserve them in a collected form; he seems to have written them because he could not help it. Yet if we leave the great characters out of sight for a time, I think we cannot avoid coming to the conclusion, that the minor parts of his plays were derived from what he saw around him, the every-day life of the men and women of the sixteenth century, and that much of his poetry was inspired by the scenes of his boyhood, the merry greenwood of Warwickshire, and from the birds and the flowers and the country life of Old England. On the latter subject, I do not at present intend to dwell; but I purpose, though it may be in a meagre and incomplete manner, to bring before you the ENGLAND OF SHAKSPEARE, believing that we may thus learn something of the character of the times, and also of the man Shakspeare himself, and of his sympathies, differing in some respects from those of the present age.

As Shakspeare was born in an inland county, let us first note down his ideas of country life. I do not think it was the life he loved; nor is this unnatural, when we consider that

he was driven to the metropolis by necessity or by the desire of getting on in the world, and that there he flourished. He does not seem to have liked the solitude of the country: when Rosalind and Celia, in *As You Like It*, make their way to the forest, the country is spoken of as a desert place; the farmer whose possessions they buy, is said to be

> Of churlish disposition,
> And little recks to find the way to heaven
> By doing deeds of hospitality.*

All through that beautiful woodland play, we hear of the hard fare of the country and the scarcity of food. Still there is much in praise of lowly life—the nobility of honest labour comes out as fully as in any poem of the present time. Perhaps no where more strongly than in the contrast between Orlando rejoicing in his youth and strength and gentle birth, and his old servant Adam. When the latter gives him the five hundred crowns, the thrifty hire saved under his father, Orlando thus thanks him—

> O good old man; how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
> Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
> When none will sweat, but for promotion.†

Corin, in the same play, gives a very simple account of himself: "I am a true labourer; I earn that I eat, get that "I wear; owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness; glad "of other men's good, content with my harm: and the "greatest of my pride is, to see my ewes graze, and my lambs "suck."‡ This certainly speaks of the contentedness of a labourer's life, and I think the general impression to be derived from Shakspeare is that the labouring classes led

* *As You Like It*, Act ii, Scene 4. † *Ibid.*, Act ii, Scene 3.
‡ *Ibid.*, Act iii, Scene 2.

hard lives, but not miserable ones. I do not know any passages which would make us believe that there were any large masses of people in England, at the close of the sixteenth century, in the state of abject want which philanthropists and writers of fiction have found existing in the garrets of London and our large towns, in the rural villages of our southern counties, and in the cabins of the Scotch Highlands and of Ireland, during the prosperous days of our present Queen. Lord Macaulay is perhaps right in asserting that the mass of artizans and labourers are better off at present than they were two centuries ago—but have we not now social grades much lower than any which then existed?

Shakspeare makes even a king extol the happiness of a shepherd's life—

> His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
> His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
> All which secure and sweetly he enjoys,
> Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
> His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
> His body couched in a curious bed,
> When care, mistrust, and treason, wait on him.*

The upper classes of the rural population find no favour with our great poet. The country squires, the Shallows and Slenders are held up for our ridicule, they are foiled in their love affairs, they are governed even by their own serving men, and their money is abstracted by the courtier who knows how to fool them according to their bent. Their pride of birth is laughed at in a most unmerciful manner—"A gentleman "born, master parson; who writes himself *armigero*; in any "bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, *armigero*. All his "successors, gone before him, have done't; and all his "ancestors, that come after him, may: they may give the

* 3 *Henry VI*, Act ii, Scene 5.

"dozen white luces in their coat."* It is curious to contrast this with the manner in which the New England poet of the present day describes his hero, the leader of the Puritan band of the seventeenth century—

> He was a gentleman born, could trace his pedigree plainly
> Back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire, England,
> Who was the son of Ralph, and the grandson of Thurston de Standish;
> Heir unto vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded,
> Still bore the family arms, and had for his crest a cock argent
> Combed and wattled gules, and all the rest of the blazon.†

It is evident from many passages that in Shakspeare's days, every man with any pretension to good breeding made his way to the metropolis,—at any rate for a portion of his life.

How different is the tone of the great poet of the present age; how vast is the distance between master Shallow, and the portrait which Tennyson has drawn of Sir Walter Vivian of Vivian Place—

> No little lily-handed Baronet he,
> A great broad-shoulder'd genial Englishman,
> A lord of fat prize-oxen and of sheep,
> A raiser of huge melons and of pine,
> A patron of some thirty charities,
> A pamphleteer on guano and on grain,
> A quarter-sessions chairman, abler none;
> Fair-hair'd and redder than a windy morn.‡

But if the squirearchy of Warwickshire formed subjects for Shakspeare's mirth, the "hempen home-spuns" of the country town—Bottom the weaver, Quince the carpenter, Snug the joiner, Flute the bellows-mender, Snout the tinker, and Starveling the tailor—receive exactly the same treatment: there is no attempt at making heroes of these "rude me-"chanicals." Indeed they are partly used by Shakspeare to set

* *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act i, Scene 1.

† Longfellow's *Miles Standish*. ‡ Tennyson's *Princess*.

off the nobleness of the character of Theseus, duke of Athens, who finds pleasure in the simpleness and duty these hard-handed men tender to him and insists, against the wishes of his court, on their performing their uncouth play. It was reserved for a later age to discover that the English navvy, beneath a rough exterior, has the heart and feelings of an English gentleman,—and to sing of

> The smith, a mighty man is he,
> With large and sinewy hands;
> And the muscles of his brawny arms
> Are strong as iron bands.
> His hair is crisp, and black, and long,
> His face is like the tan;
> His brow is wet with honest sweat,
> He earns whate'er he can,
> And looks the whole world in the face,
> For he owes not any man.*

Even the English yeoman hardly receives his due, though Shakspeare describes many battle scenes, and has many opportunities for praising the sterling worth of the common soldier. There is indeed one passage where he receives full justice—it is when Henry V addresses his troops before the battle of Agincourt, and shews a full appreciation of the stuff of which they were made—

> And you, good yeomen,
> Whose limbs were made in England, shew us here
> The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
> That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;
> For there is none of you so mean and base,
> That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.†

There is also the scene in *Henry V*, where Williams challenges Fluellin, and by his blunt bearing exhibits the independent spirit of the English rank and file. But these are exceptions; battles were fought by kings and nobles, state

* Longfellow's *Poems*. † *Henry V*, Act iii, Scene 1.

policy was framed to suit their wishes and promote their interests, and as a rule the commonalty were but little thought of. It was the close of the last century before the songs and ballads of the people and the heroes of the people were accepted as such by men of letters.

Though Shakspeare never or very rarely attempted to make heroes of the labouring classes, no poet has more fully praised their fidelity, and expressed their words and thoughts and philosophy of their minds. For instance, when Richard II was a captive in Pomfret Castle, deserted by all the lords and nobles of his court, one old retainer came to see him, who thus described himself—

> I was a poor groom of thy stable, king,
> When thou wert king; who, travelling towards York,
> With much ado, at length have gotten leave
> To look upon my sometime master's face.
> O, how it yearn'd my heart, when I beheld,
> In London streets, that coronation day,
> When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary!
> That horse, that thou so often hast bestrid;
> That horse, that I so carefully have dress'd!*

Here Shakspeare has seized the connecting link between the groom and his royal master, and has prominently brought forward their one common interest, the favourite horse of the sovereign, and the pride of the stable. Again, in the same play, we have the scene in the garden, when the Queen and her ladies overhear two gardeners discoursing on state affairs—

> Go thou, and like an executioner,
> Cut off the heads of too-fast-growing sprays,
> That look too lofty in our commonwealth:
> All must be even in our government,—
> . . . . . .
> . . . . Bolingbroke
> Hath seiz'd the wasteful king.—Oh! what pity is it,
> That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land,
> As we this garden! We at time of year
> Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees;

* *Richard II*, Act v, Scene 5.

Lest, being over-proud with sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound itself:
Had he done so to great and growing men,
They might have liv'd to bear, and he to taste
Their fruits of duty.*

Could there be a better version of a gardener's philosophy than this?

Shakspeare, whose father was a leading member of the corporation of a country town, was no doubt well acquainted with the character of such bodies. His estimate of them does not seem to have been a high one, and in Dogberry and Verges, he has held them up as subjects for laughter for all time to come. He has, however, sketched a few village scenes; and these pictures of the sixteenth century will remain for the instruction of coming ages. For instance, in the *Twelfth Night*, where the duke says—

The song we had last night:—
Mark it, Cesario; it is old, and plain:
The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones,
Do use to chaunt it.†

Can we doubt that Shakspeare had a real man and a real shop in his mind's eye, when he described the apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*?

Meagre were his looks,
Sharp misery had worn him to the bones:
And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
An alligator stuff'd, and other skins
Of ill-shap'd fishes; and about his shelves
A beggarly account of empty boxes,
Green earthen pots, bladders, and musty seeds,
Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses,
Were thinly scatter'd, to make up a show.‡

From the plays of Shakspeare we may learn something of

* *Richard II*, Act iii, Scene 4.
† *Twelfth Night*, Act ii, Scene 4.
‡ *Romeo and Juliet*, Act v, Scene 1.

the sports of Old England. The principal ones were hunting and hawking, but they do not belong to this part of my paper. Next to them comes bear-baiting, which seems to have been the favourite amusement of the multitude: indeed it was one in which all classes took part. Master Slender thought the subject fit for a lady's ear, one by which he might ingratiate himself with sweet Anne Page. Whilst, "the rampant bear chained to the ragged staff, old Nevil's "crest," forms the theme of one of the scenes in *Henry VI*, where the followers of the Red Rose and of the White engage in angry altercation—

Clifford—Are these thy bears? we'll bait thy bears to death,
And manacle the bear-ward in their chains,
If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting-place.
Richard—Oft have I seen a hot o'erweening cur
Run back and bite, because he was withheld;
Who, being suffer'd with the bear's fell paw,
Hath clapp'd his tail between his legs, and cry'd.*

Shakspeare lived in an interregnum; the chief pleasures and pastimes of the middle ages, the times of joust and tournament were almost gone, leaving a love of pageantry behind them; but the athletic games of the present age had not taken their place—cricket is not once mentioned in his plays; whilst the present annual contests, the boat races, seem to have been quite unknown. England was then as guiltless of rowing clubs and eight-oars as of the chariot races and the foot races of the games of Greece. Nor have we any allusions to our present horse races.

There is one passage in the *Tempest* which shows that England was then very much what it now is—a land where the multitude will run after any strange show. It is where Trinculo discovers Caliban, and takes him for a monster with "a very ancient and fish-like smell." He is delighted with

* 2 *Henry VI*, Act v, Scene 1.

his prize, and says—"Were I in England now (as once I was,) "and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but "would give a piece of silver: there would this monster "make a man; any strange beast there makes a man: when "they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will "lay out ten to see a dead Indian." *

Dogs come in for a share of our poet's thoughts, not only hunting dogs, but the watch dogs in the hall, the pets and playthings of the lady's bower, "Tray, Blanch, and Sweet-"heart," they are none of them forgotten; or, as in another passage in *Macbeth* where they are more fully classified—

> Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men;
> As hounds, and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
> Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves, are cleped
> All by the name of dogs.†

In another place, with a few touches, *Lear* has painted another member of the race—

> Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar?
> And the creature run from the cur? There
> Thou might'st behold the great image of authority:
> A dog's obeyed in office.‡

But the dog of which Shakspeare has drawn the most complete life picture, was the one of which Launce was the unfortunate owner. Crab, "the sourest-natured dog that lived," "that was saved from drowning when three or four of his blind "brothers and sisters went to it," whose currish nature would come out even in the presence of mistress Silvia, whose owner had dearly to mourn over his misdeeds—"I have sat "in the stocks for puddings he hath stolen, otherwise he had "been executed: I have stood on the pillory for geese he "hath killed, otherwise he had suffered for't."§

* *Tempest*, Act ii, Scene 2.

† *Macbeth*, Act iii, Scene 1. ‡ *Lear*, Act iv, Scene 6.

§ *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act iv, Scene 4.

The age was an age of transition in more respects than one; the monasteries had fallen and with them had gone the many benevolent and educational institutions of Catholic times. Their place was partly filled by the numerous hospitals and grammar schools which had been founded, some by Edward VI of blessed memory, some by the prosperous tradesmen of the large towns. The altered state of things must have grated against the feelings of the lovers of the good old times. Shakspeare has put their sapient arguments in favour of ignorance in the mouth of the rebellious demagogue Jack Cade, when he says of Lord Say—"Thou hast "most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in "erecting a grammar school: and whereas, before, our fore-"fathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou "hast caused printing to be used; and contrary to the king, "his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will "be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee, that "usually talk of a noun, and a verb; and such abominable "words, as no Christian ear can endure to hear."*

But Shakspeare presents us with the other side of the picture and praises learning and the patrons of learning. For instance, there is that beautiful scene where Griffith, the "honest chronicler," relates the character of that "great "child of honour, Cardinal Wolsey."

> Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
> Was fashion'd to much honour. From his cradle,
> He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
> Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading:
> Lofty, and sour, to them that lov'd him not;
> But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
> And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
> (Which was a sin,) yet in bestowing, madam,
> He was most princely: Ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning, that he raised in you,
> Ipswich, and Oxford! one of which fell with him,

* 2 *Henry VI*, Act iv, Scene 7.

Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.*

The importance of the universities was then fully acknowledged. The great educational change which has occurred in the last two centuries and a half has been the growing size and power of the great public schools; and that in great measure because those schools retain their pupils much longer than formerly, and do not send them to the universities till they become men.

There is one passage which I shall quote from *Henry VIII*, which will show the manufacturing character which England was beginning to assume, and the dangers connected with it—dangers of which the present century has furnished us with other examples. The Duke of Norfolk complains of Wolsey's exactions—

For, upon these taxations,
The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them longing, have put off
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger
And lack of other means, in desperate manner
Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
And danger serves among them.†

There is another picture in *King John* which must have been drawn by Shakspeare from the life. In those troublous times, when the proud Armada swept past our coasts, when Catholic powers abroad and the frail but lovely Queen of Scots and the Catholic nobles at home were plotting against the safety of the common-weal, there must have been many scenes such as this. It is when Hubert speaks of Arthur's death, and says the people—

* *Henry VIII*, Act iv, Scene 2. † *Ibid.*, Act i, Scene 2.

Shake their heads,
And whisper one another in the ear;
And he, that speaks, doth gripe the hearer's wrist;
Whilst he, that hears, makes fearful action,
With wrinkled brows, with nods, with rolling eyes.
I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,
With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news;
Who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
Standing on slippers (which his nimble haste
Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,)
Told of a many thousand warlike French,
That were embattled and rank'd in Kent.*

It is curious how few passages in Shakspeare refer directly to the history of the times. I think the poets of the present day are storing up for coming generations far more of the events which are passing around; far more at any rate on one subject—the life and virtues of the Queen, in her relationships of wife, mother, widow and sovereign. In one passage, Cranmer prophesies the glorious career of Anne Boleyn's daughter as follows—

Truth shall nurse her,
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her:
She shall be lov'd and fear'd: Her own shall bless her:
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow: Good grows with her:
In her days, every man shall eat in safety
Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.
God shall be truly known; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour.†

There is another passage in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, where the courtier poet pours forth those dulcet strains of adulation which were so dear to the woman's heart of the great Virgin Queen. He makes Oberon allude to her in the scene near the enchanted bowers of Fairyland, where he says of Cupid—

* *King John*, Act iv, Scene 2. † *Henry VIII*, Act v, Scene 4.

A certain aim he took
At a fair vestal, throned by the west;
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts:
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon;
And the imperial vot'ress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.*

It is not my intention to enter at any length into the long list of Shakspeare's nobles, or to show how they set forth the various phases of statecraft; yet a few of them I must mention. Falconbridge, raised almost from the ranks on account of his abilities in the council and the camp, fighting for his native land against foreign foes, and boasting—

This England never did (nor never shall)
Lie at the proud feet of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.†

Bolingbroke, of noble almost royal birth, yet courting the common people's love—

Wooing poor craftsmen, with the craft of smiles.

Hotspur, the great border chief, whose trade was war, murmuring even in his sleep of "iron wars, and terms of "manage to his bounding steed," untameable among his comrades, untameable in the presence of his king, untameable even by the winsome ways of woman. Talbot, the great captain of an English host, rejoicing in the prowess of his followers, "his substance, sinews, arms, and strength," and when environed by a hostile "waist of iron," turning grimly at bay, and like a bull-dog fighting till he died. John of Gaunt, "time-honour'd Lancaster," the aged statesman, who had spent a long life in state affairs at home

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 2. It was written during Queen Elizabeth's life, 1594.

† *King John*, Act v, Scene 7.

and abroad, and even when death looked him in the face, speaking words of wisdom and sage counsel for the good of his native land. He is, perhaps, the noblest of all the great band of nobles who have been immortalized by Shakspeare. One cannot held asking if these are not the likenesses of the mighty men who rallied round the good Queen Bess, and enabled her, by their bravery and hardihood and statesmanship, to preserve, during a time of sore trial, the independence and liberties of England.

But there is one picture, and it is evidently a life picture, of a very different kind: it exhibits a class of the nobility who became very numerous during the times of the Stuarts. The passage occurs where the headstrong Hotspur gives his reasons for refusing to deliver his captives to the king's envoy, whom he describes as follows:—

> A certain lord, neat, trimly dress'd,
> Fresh as a bridegroom; and his chin, new reap'd,
> Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest-home;
> He was perfumed like a milliner;
> And 'twixt his finger and his thumb he held
> A pouncet-box, which ever and anon
> He gave his nose, and took't away again;
> . . . . . .
> To be so pester'd with a popinjay,
> . . . . he made me mad,
> To see him shine so brisk, and smell so sweet,
> And talk so like a waiting-gentlewoman.*

If there is one thing more than another in which the present age differs from that of Queen Elizabeth, it is in the modern love of mountain scenery—in the taste, the passion I may rather call it, which year by year sends no small portion of the community away from their homes in search of the wild and picturesque. There is no reason to suppose that Shakspeare, bred in the fat champaign of the midland counties, ever saw a real mountain. He speaks of "the smug

* 1 *Henry IV*, Act i, Scene 3.

" and silver Trent," and of " the gentle Severn's sedgy bank," but not a word of the ranges of hills and valleys which lie beyond. Even the cliffs at Dover affright him—

> There is a cliff, whose high and bending head
> Looks fearfully in the confined deep:
> . . . . How fearful
> And dizzy 'tis, to cast one's eyes so low!
> The crows, and choughs, that wing the midway air,
> Show scarce so gross as beetles: Half way down
> Hangs one that gathers samphire; dreadful trade!
> Methinks, he seems no bigger than his head:
> The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,
> Appear like mice; and yon' tall anchoring bark,
> Diminish'd to her cock; her cock, her buoy
> Almost too small for sight.*

This is by no means in accordance with the Excelsior spirit of the present day—the poor cliff at Dover, Shakspeare's cliff,† is almost scorned by *Messieurs les voyageurs pour Paris et la Suisse,* who hurry past it day by day. I think if our great poet could have conceived such a thing as the Alpine Club, some of their feats would have afforded him subjects for raillery—the great pleasure, for instance, to be derived from passing over a dangerous *col* enveloped in a mist or driving storm, or of glissading down a snow slope almost to the edge of a precipice, the luxury of sleeping in *châlets* where the beds are formed of a mixture of damp hay and fleas, and the intellectual advantage of rushing from civilized life to enter into very close companionship with peasants who often can only speak an unintelligible *patois.* Yet I also think there is much of Alpine life which, if it had ever been Shakspeare's fortune to experience it, would have found a place in his verses. Not least would have been the manly nature of the adventures of mountain life, the hardihood, the self-reliance, the powers of self-control, which must be called

* *Lear,* Act iv, Scenes 1 and 6.

† The railway has destroyed a considerable part of this cliff.

into play. Nor could he have been indifferent to the glories of the mountains, the silver peaks, the rugged cliffs, the emerald valleys, the sunrise on the boundless plain, the radiance of the evening glow. Nor would he have been unmindful of the wayside charms of the mountains, the chamois bounding over the snowy slopes or rocky precipices, the hunter's *jodel*, the songs of the cow-maidens, the bright flowers of the upland slopes and meadows. I think it would not have been left for a lady of the present day to sing the praises of the Alpine gentian—

She 'mid ice mountains vast
  Long had lain sleeping,
When she look'd forth at last
  Timidly peeping.
Mournfully pondering
  Gazed she on high;
White clouds were wandering
  Through the blue sky.
So she gazed steadfastly
  Loving on high;
Till she grew heavenly,
  Blue as the sky.*

Milton, who had enjoyed the advantages of foreign travel and of a liberal education, embellished his great poem with many descriptions of romantic scenery—but he also was ignorant of the genuine love of a mountain. He speaks of Paradise as bounded by that "steep savage hill," and in another place he calls it "that shaggy hill." Cotton, in the second part of the *Complete Angler*, expresses unmingled horror at having to pass over the little hills of Derbyshire. Whilst John Bunyan, whose mind was stored with all the imagery of the sacred poets of the hill country of Judea, often brings in mountains as something beautiful; yet, as he had never seen one, his descriptions make them very similar to the level plain—for instance, he speaks of the Delectable Mountains as "a plea-

* *Three Wakings*, by Mrs. Charles.

" sant mountainous country, beautified with woods, vineyards, " fruits of all sorts, flowers also, with springs and fountains " very delectable to behold."

But I must leave this subject: Shakspeare was not a mountaineer, nor in all probability should we have cared to be so, unless it had been the fashion of the age, and unless we had found practicable roads spreading over what formerly were wild and desolate districts, and comfortable inns to welcome us at the end of our day's march.

Shakspeare probably never left the narrow bounds of England: his geography, which assigns a sea coast to Bohemia, was of the most doubtful character. Sometimes he relates the current tales about foreign lands—the fables of adventurous seamen, who had witnessed marvels as great as any they could invent. For instance, in the *Tempest*, Caliban is afraid that he and his companions will be turned

> To barnacles, or to apes
> With foreheads villainous low.

Whilst Benedick, mad with the jests of the lady Beatrice, offers to perform all manner of feats "rather than hold three words' conference with the harpy." "Will your grace com- " mand me any service to the world's end? I will go on the " slightest errand now to the Antipodes, that you can devise " to send me on: I will fetch you a tooth-picker now from " the farthest inch of Asia: bring you the length of Prester " John's foot; fetch you a hair off the great Cham's beard; " do you any embassage to the Pigmies."*

The age of Shakspeare may be said to have been the commencement of a long chain of naval adventures. "The black " north-easter" was then beginning to "stir up the brave " Vikings' blood," and to "drive our English hearts of oak " seaward round the world." The feats of daring and enterprise

* *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act ii, Scene 1.

which were then performed have never since been surpassed. We recently heard with some astonishment that an Irish nobleman had taken his yacht on a summer excursion to the ice-bound shores of Jan Mayen within the limits of the Arctic circle; but he possessed charts and instruments, and all the appliances of science—and it was an undertaking by no means equal to those of the hardy seamen of Queen Elizabeth, of Martin Frobisher, who in three successive voyages explored the coasts of Labrador and of Greenland, and of Sir Francis Drake who circumnavigated the globe in vessels not much larger than good-sized fishing-smacks. The very soul of the nation was stirred up by adventures such as these, the inland people were affected by the excitement of the dwellers on the sea coast, and there is hardly one subject to which our great Warwickshire poet more frequently alludes. For instance, in *Henry V*, the chorus calls upon the audience to imagine a fleet leaving harbour (the theatres in those days had little scenery or machinery of any kind)—

> Play with your fancies; and in them behold,
> Upon the hempen tackle, ship-boys climbing:
> Hear the shrill whistle, which doth order give
> To sounds confus'd: behold the threaden sails,
> Borne with the invisible and creeping wind,
> Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea,
> Breasting the lofty surge: O, do but think,
> You stand upon the rivage, and behold
> A city on the inconstant billows dancing:
> For so appears this fleet majestical.*

Again, in the *Merchant of Venice*, the return of the homeward-bound vessel furnishes Shakspeare with a beautiful simile—

> How like a younker, or a prodigal,
> The scarfed bark puts from her native bay.
> How like the prodigal doth she return;
> With over-weather'd ribs, and ragged sails.†

* *Henry V*, Act iii, Chorus.

† *Merchant of Venice*, Act ii, Scene 6.

Again, in the long speech which Margaret of Anjou makes in reference to the position of her affairs, she describes the island nobles, the upholders of her husband's throne, by comparing them to the various parts of a vessel.

> Say Warwick was our anchor; What of that?
> And Montague our topmast; What of him?
> Our slaughter'd friends the tackles; What of these?
> Why, is not Oxford here another anchor?
> And Somerset another goodly mast;
> The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings?*

She then compares her enemies to the various dangers a ship is exposed to—

> And what is Edward, but a ruthless sea?
> What Clarence, but a quicksand of deceit?
> And Richard, but a ragged fatal rock?
> All these the enemies to our poor bark.†

There is another well-known passage where Shakspeare uses a figure taken from the changes of the sea—

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.
> On such a full sea are we now afloat,
> And we must take the current when it serves,
> Or lose our ventures.‡

But perhaps the finest passage connected with the sea are those beautiful lines on sleep in *Henry IV*, though I am not sure that seamen will accept the truth of the figure—

> Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
> Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
> In cradle of the rude imperious surge;
> And in the visitation of the winds
> Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
> Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
> With deaf'ning clamours in the slippery clouds,
> That with the hurly, death itself awakes?

* 3 *Henry VI*, Act v, Scene 4. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Julius Cæsar*, Act iv, Scene 3.

Canst thou, O partial sleep! give thy repose
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude;
And, in the calmest and most stillest night,
With all appliances and means to boot,
Deny it to a king?*

Shakspeare was evidently fully aware of the greatness of the sea, its power, its intense sublimity—but I do not think his words exhibit that extreme love of the sea and of the roaring elements which we find (sometimes perhaps only simulated) in the writers of the present day. Nothing of the *Westward Ho!* character. At times a feeling of horror may be discovered when speaking of the mighty deep; for instance, in *Richard III*, Clarence says—

Methought, that Gloster stumbled; and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard,
Into the tumbling billows of the main.
O heaven! methought, what pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!
What sights of ugly death within mine eyes!
Methought, I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;
A thousand men, that fishes gnaw'd upon;
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels,
All scattered in the bottom of the sea.
Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in those holes
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept
(As 't were in scorn of eyes) reflecting gems,
That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.†

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the sea, with its ever-varying adventures and opportunities for obtaining wealth, not always by the most honourable means, began to open a new profession for the younger sons of the gentry. Drake and Greenville and their associates were many of them men of lineage and name in the western counties—Raleigh was an accomplished courtier, and kindred spirits accompanied him

* 2 *Henry IV*, Act iii, Scene 1. † *Richard III*, Act i, Scene 4.

to found the first English colony in honour of the Virgin Queen, and to make buccaneering inroads on the Spanish Main. In one passage some reference is made to this. It is where the father of Proteus is reproached because he did not send his son from home—

> While other men, of slender reputation,
> Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
> Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there;
> Some, to *discover islands far away;*
> Some, to the studious universities.*

But at the close of the sixteenth century, the sea must have been chiefly regarded as the scene of the greatest contest in which England had ever been engaged—

> When that great fleet invincible against her brought in vain
> The richest spoils of Mexico, the bravest hearts of Spain.

All the incidents of that death-struggle and that glorious victory were fresh in men's minds when Shakspeare wrote his plays—the greatness of the preparations of Spain, the small means of defence which this country possessed beyond brave hearts and hardy English men. There is a passage in *Twelfth Night* which may have been taken from some of the tales of the naval encounters with the argosies of Spain—

> A bawbling vessel was he captain of,
> For shallow draught, and bulk, unprizable;
> With which such scathful grapple did he make
> With the most noble bottom of our fleet,
> That very envy, and the tongue of loss,
> Cry'd fame and honour on him.†

There is another passage in *Cymbeline* which may have reference to the same tremendous trial—

* *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act i, Scene 3.

† *Twelfth Night*, Act v, Scene 1.

Remember, sir, my liege,

. . . . . .

The natural bravery of your isle; which stands
As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
With rocks unscaleable, and roaring waters;
With sands, that will not bear your enemies' boats,
But suck them up to the top-mast.*

It is probable from this and other passages that our forefathers attributed the wonderful deliverance they had experienced, in no slight degree, to that ever moving barrier of waters which surrounds the cliffs of Albion, and keeps her free from hostile foes. The same idea appears in *King John*, when England is described as—

That pale, that white-fac'd shore,
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides,
And coops from other lands her islanders,
Even till that England, hedg'd in with the main,
The water-walled bulwark, still secure
And confident from foreign purposes.†

It may not be out of place to quote a parallel passage from the present laureate, in which he uses the same idea, though we cannot help feeling that the isolation of Britain is gradually becoming a thing of the past—

God bless the narrow sea,
Which keeps our Britain, whole within herself,
A nation yet, the rulers and the ruled—
Some sense of duty, something of a faith,
Some reverence for the laws ourselves have made,
Some patient force to change them when we will,
Some civic manhood firm against the crowd—
God bless the narrow seas!
I wish they were a whole Atlantic broad.‡

I shall conclude this paper with the dying words of one whose name will ever be connected with this county, the great son of a great king, John of Gaunt, "time-honour'd

* *Cymbeline*, Act iii, Scene 1. † *King John*, Act ii, Scene 1.

‡ Tennyson's *Princess*.

"Lancaster,"—on his death-bed, with his bodily powers oozing away, his mind turns not so much to his own son, an exile in disgrace, but on the sorrows and dangers of his country, seeking to impart wholesome counsel to her rulers, and then, like "a prophet new inspired," pouring forth those noble words on the land of his nativity—

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by nature for herself,
> Against infection and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world;
> *This precious stone set in the silver sea,*
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands;
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this ENGLAND,
> This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
> Fear'd by their breed, and famous by their birth.
> . . . . . .
> England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
> Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune.*

* *Richard II*, Act ii, Scene 1.

THE GREENWOOD OF SHAKSPEARE.

(Read 19th January, 1865.)

I now come to the second part of my subject, the merry greenwood and its inhabitants, and Shakspeare's intense love of the beauties of the country and wonderful power in describing them,—a power so great that the Puritan poet of the next generation speaks of him as—

> Sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child,
> Warbling his native wood notes wild.

In the forest in that most poetical of plays, *the Midsummer-Night's Dream*, the two bands of lovers meet with their extraordinary adventures; thither the rustics resort for their rehearsal, choosing a green plot for their stage, and a hawthorn brake for their tyring-house; there the Queen of the Amazons is led by her lover to hear the music of the hounds. Again, in *As You Like It*, the various characters find refuge in sylvan fastnesses from the tyranny of an usurping Duke, and there—

> Exempt from public haunt,
> Found tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything.*

To a similar scene Sir Valentine fled, having forfeited the favour of the Duke of Milan—there he became the leader of a band of outlaws, and found consolation for the disappointment of his hopes, as he says:—

> This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
> I better brook, than flourishing peopled towns:
> Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
> And, to the nightingale's complaining notes,
> Tune my distresses, and record my woes.†

* *As You Like It*, Act ii, Scene 1.

† *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act v, Scene 4.

There, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the King of Navarre and his courtiers receive the embassy of the Princess of France and her ladies; there, beneath the spreading trees, they forswear their vows of woman hate, reading their sonnets to their lady loves, and engaging in a merry fight of words. It was beneath the avenue near Portia's house that Lorenzo and Jessica, looking upwards to the starry firmament, "thick "inlaid with patines of bright gold," whispered the pretty words of love and joined their touches of sweet harmony to the orbs of heaven,

> Still quiring to the young-ey'd cherubins.*

It was whilst hiding in

> the pleached bower,
> Where honey-suckles, ripen'd by the sun,
> Forbid the sun to enter,†

that Beatrice first heard the strange tale that she was beloved by Benedick, the witty bachelor. The scene of *Cymbeline* is laid partly in the forests of South Wales. *Lear* on a heath in the south of Britain. Several of the historical or chronicle plays lead us into the woodland. And it was beneath the blasted oak of Herne the hunter, that the wicked old knight received the last punishment from the satyrs and fairies of Windsor.

Having so often laid the scene of his plays in the forest, we need not wonder that Shakspeare has many times recounted the sights and sounds of the woods.

> The birds chaunt melody on every bush;
> The snake lies rolled in the cheerful sun;
> The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind,
> And make a checquer'd shadow on the ground:
> Under their sweet shade, Aaron, let us sit,
> And—whilst the babbling echo mocks the hounds,
> Replying shrilly to the well-tun'd horns,

* *Merchant of Venice*, Act v, Scene 1.

† *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act iii, Scene 1.

As if a double hunt were heard at once,—
Let us sit down, and mark their yelling noise:
Whiles hounds and horns, and sweet melodious birds,
Be unto us, as is a nurse's song
Of lullaby.*

Shakspeare is ever ready to remove his actors from the busy hum of men to the silent forest glade or open champaign, and to preserve in immortal verse the simple scenes of the English common, or the hedgerow, or the sports of the woodland. He is entitled to the place of a prince among the true lovers of nature; but the scientific man, whose enjoyment is confined to the classification and elaboration of his subject, to cataloguing varieties and inventing formidable names, must not look to our poet for sympathy. For instance, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, he says,

These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights,
That give a name to every fixed star,
Have no more profit of their shining nights
Than those that walk, and wot not what they are.†

First, a few words on the birds of Shakspeare. His poetry shows that he was well acquainted with them and their habits; it is evident that,

From these wandering minstrels,
He had learnt the art of song.

Even Bottom the weaver, when he was belated in the Fairies' wood, cannot refrain from breaking out into a chanson in praise of the feathered choristers of the grove—

The ousel cock, so black of hue,
With orange-tawny bill,
The throstle with his note so true,
The wren with little quill,
The finch, the sparrow, and the lark,
The plain-song cuckoo grey,
Whose note full many a man doth mark,
And dares not answer, nay.‡

* *Titus Andronicus*, Act ii, Scene 3.

† *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act i, Scene 1.

‡ *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act iii, Scene 1.

Perhaps Shakspeare is rarely more successful in any of his illustrations than in those taken from the habits of birds. For instance, in *Titus Andronicus*, the wicked Queen of the Goths declares—

> The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
> And is not careful what they mean thereby;
> Knowing that with the shadow of his wings,
> He can at pleasure stint their melody.*

Again, in *Macbeth*, where Lady Macduff speaks of the flight of her husband, she says—

> He loves us not;
> He wants the natural touch: for the poor wren,
> The most diminutive of birds, will fight,
> Her young ones in her nest, against the owl.+

In *Richard III*, when the spiteful hump-backed Gloster denounces his enemies, he says—

> The world is grown so bad,
> That wrens may prey where eagles dare not perch.‡

In *Henry IV*, where Westmoreland brings the king intelligence of the utter defeat of his enemies, the latter replies—

> O Westmoreland, thou art a summer-bird,
> Which ever in the haunch of winter sings
> The lifting up of day.§

In the closing scene of the life of the gentle monarch *Henry VI*, he turns on the murderer of his son, with bolder words than were his wont:

> The bird, that hath been limed in a bush,
> With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush:
> And I, the hapless male to one sweet bird,
> Have now the fatal object in my eye,
> Where my poor young was lim'd, was caught, and kill'd.

As the altercation becomes warmer, he upbraids Gloster with all the evil omens which attended his birth:

* *Titus Andronicus*, Act iv, Scene 4. + *Macbeth*, Act iv, Scene 2.
‡ *Richard III*, Act i, Scene 3. § 2 *Henry IV*, Act iv, Scene 4.

The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign;
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time;
Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempests shook down trees;
The raven rook'd her on the chimney's top,
And chattering pies in dismal discords sung.*

One of the most beautiful passages relating to birds is in *Macbeth*, a play which contains more allusions to the feathered fowl than any other; it is where Banquo speaks of Macbeth's castle:

This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,
By his lov'd mansionry, that the heaven's breath,
Smells wooingly here: no jutty, frieze, buttress,
Nor coigne of vantage, but this bird hath made
His pendent bed, and procreant cradle: Where they
Most breed and haunt, I have observ'd, the air
Is delicate.†

But Shakspeare's illustrations are not confined to the beautiful songsters of the grove, the harbingers of spring, the sign to man that he must soar upwards to another and a purer world. The crawling things of the ground, the insects flitting through the air, find a place in his verses. Thus he mentions "the tender horns of cockled snails," "the poor harmless fly "with his pretty buzzing melody," "the red-hipp'd humble-bee "on the top of a thistle," "the gilded butterflies," "the shard-"borne beetle with his drowsy hums," "the snake and her "enamell'd skin," "the adder's fork and blind-worm's sting." The band of fairies in their chorus warn the hosts of insects from the haunt of their sylvan queen; the two bands seem to be brought together for the sake of comparison, and they seem in some respects to dispute the rule of the night.

Perhaps the finest passage on any branch of the insect world is Shakspeare's account of the social policy of the bees. Many poets ancient and modern have described their order and industry and economy and regal form of government,

* 3 *Henry VI*, Act v, Scene 6. † *Macbeth*, Act i, Scene 6.

but they have none of them produced anything more beautiful than the following. It occurs in the scene in *Henry V*, where the young King and his council discuss the foreign policy of the kingdom; the Archbishop speaks of the order and obedience of the body politic, and thus compares it—

> For so work the honey bees;
> Creatures, that, by a rule in nature, teach
> The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
> They have a king, and officers of sorts:
> Where some, like magistrates, correct at home;
> Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad;
> Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,
> Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds;
> Which pillage they with merry march bring home
> To the tent-royal of their emperor:
> Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
> The singing masons building roofs of gold;
> The civil citizens kneading up the honey;
> The poor mechanick porters crowding in
> Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate;
> The sad-ey'd justice, with his surly hum,
> Delivering o'er to executors pale
> The lazy yawning drone.*

Flowers are so often introduced in Shakspeare's plays, that it has been suggested that his original calling was that of a gardener. I think, however, that he as frequently brings in the wild flowers of the fields and the woods, the village maiden's wreaths and posies, as those of the highly cultivated garden. Wherever they appear, they give proof that they are more the offspring of nature than of art. For instance, in the *Winter's Tale*, at the sheep shearing feast, where Perdita receives the guests and gives them flowers, she says—

> Here's flowers for you;
> Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram;
> The marigold, that goes to bed with the sun,
> And with him rises weeping; these are flowers
> Of middle summer, and I think, they are given
> To men of middle age. . . . .

* *Henry V*, Act i, Scene 2.

. . . . . daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty; violets dim
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses,
That die unmarried, ere they can behold
Bright Phœbus in his strength; bold oxlips, and
The crown imperial; lilies of all kinds,
The flower-de-luce being one! O, these, I lack,
To make you garlands of.*

Poor Ophelia, the sometime rose of May, her mind overpowered by her father's death, her head fantastically crowned with flowers, presents us with a scene which Shakspeare evidently painted from the life. "There's rosemary, that's "for remembrance; pray you, love, remember; and there is "pansies, that's for thoughts. There's fennel for you, and "columbines:—there's rue for you; and here's some for me:— "we may call it, herb of grace o' Sundays:—you may wear "your rue with a difference.—There's a daisy:—I would give "you some violets; but they withered all, when my father "died."†

Again, in the lines describing Ophelia's death, we have a very pretty piece of floral scenery, which has probably been suggested to Shakspeare by some actual scene.

There is a willow grows ascaunt the brook,
That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream;
There with fantastick garlands did she make
Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples,
And on the pendent boughs her coronet weeds,
Clambering to hang, an envious sliver broke,
When down her weedy trophies, and herself,
Fell in the weeping brook.‡

Lear, his poor brain cracked by his elder daughters' unkindness and by the bodily sufferings he had undergone, replaces the royal crown he had lost by one of another kind.

* *Winter's Tale*, Act iv, Scene 3. † *Hamlet*, Act iv, Scene 5.
‡ *Hamlet*, Act iv, Scene 7.

As mad as the vex'd sea: singing aloud;
Crown'd with rank fumiter, and furrow weeds,
With harlocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers,
Darnel, and all the idle weeds that grow
In our sustaining corn.*

When the sons of Cymbeline find Imogen, as they suppose, dead, they lament her loss, and, to show their grief, propose to scatter flowers over her tomb.

With fairest flowers,
Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
I'll sweeten thy sad grave: Thou shalt not lack
The flower, that's like thy face, pale primrose; nor
The azur'd hare-bell, like thy veins; no, nor
The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander,
Out-sweeten'd not thy breath: the rudduck would
With charitable bill, bring thee all this;
Yea, and furr'd moss besides, when flowers are none,
To winter-ground thy corse.†

From these passages it is curious to see how much Shakspeare has associated flowers with sorrow: he has brought them in to give a tone and colouring to some picture of human melancholy, quite as often as to deck some festive scene or occasion for rejoicing.

He seems to have been really fond of employing figures taken from the common weeds of the field. For instance, when the angry Hotspur broods over the rebellion he is plotting, he exclaims, "but I tell you, my lord fool, out of "this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety."‡ Again, in *Henry V*, when the grave bishops discuss the character of their new king and his previous riotous career, Ely says—

The strawberry grows underneath the nettle;
And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best,
Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality.§

I will now quote two or three of the most beautiful passages

* *Lear*, Act iv, Scene 4. † *Cymbeline*, Act iv, Scene 2.
‡ 1 *Henry IV*, Act ii, Scene 3. § *Henry V*, Act i, Scene 1.

in which Shakspeare makes use of flowers. One certainly is in the *Twelfth Night*, where the love-sick Duke speaks of music:

> That strain again;
> O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet south,
> That breathes upon a bank of violets,
> Stealing, and giving odour.*

Another in *Henry VIII*, when Queen Katherine retorts on the two legates who come to offer her their insidious aid:

> Like the lily,
> That once was mistress of the field, and flourish'd,
> I'll hang my head and perish.†

There is a beautiful simile in *Antony and Cleopatra* which I cannot help quoting. It is where the ambassador from Antony says—

> I was of late as petty to his ends,
> As is the morn-dew on the myrtle leaf
> To his grand sea.‡

So much for our poet's love of nature; now let us regard the sports of the greenwood. Shakspeare chiefly makes use of the woodland from its connexion with the chase. It was before the period when the fowling-piece and the rifle were ordinarily used for field sports; the cloth yard shaft and the bolt of the cross-bow were still employed in hunting and *venerie*. Nor was the chase confined to the stronger sex, and to

> The bold outlaw
> Whose cheer was the deer
> And his only friend the bow.§

The ladies of that age took pleasure in the sport and killed their stags without compunction. There are several records

* *Twelfth Night*, Act i, Scene 1. † *Henry VIII*, Act iii, Scene 1.
‡ *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act iii, Scene 10.
§ *Bow Meeting Song* by Bishop Heber.

of the kind in the life of Queen Elizabeth; whilst in the time of her successor, a most remarkable accident is recorded. Archbishop Abbott, a man of strong Puritan tendencies, whilst hunting with Lord Zouch, shot one of the keepers instead of the deer, for which he was for a time suspended from his spiritual office. From the scene in *Love's Labour's Lost*, where the Princess kills a deer, and the schoolmaster and the curate discuss what they term the "very reverent "sport," in most pedantic terms—

> The praiseful princess pierc'd and prick'd a pretty pleasing pricket—*

it is evident that Shakspeare was well acquainted with everything connected with the sport. Washington Irving's Master Simon in *Bracebridge Hall* would have been charmed with the learning of their discourse.

The scene in *Henry VI*, where the King was taken captive by the keepers in the forest, shows how the deer was often shot with the cross-bow and that the sport much resembled Highland deer-stalking.

> *First Keeper.*—Under this thick-grown brake we'll shroud ourselves;
> For through this laund anon the deer will come;
> And in this covert will we make our stand,
> Culling the principal of all the deer.
> *Second Keeper.*—I'll stay above the hill, so both may shoot.
> *First Keeper.*—That cannot be; the noise of thy cross-bow
> Will scare the herd, and so my shoot is lost.†

Deer were more frequently hunted with dogs; and the chase has furnished the substance of the last speech made by Talbot, when the French army were pressing him and his gallant band to the death:

> How are we park'd, and bounded in a pale;
> A little herd of England's timorous deer,
> Maz'd with a yelping kennel of French curs!
> If we be English deer, be then in blood:

* *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act i, Scene 2.

† 3 *Henry VI*, Act iii, Scene 1.

Not rascal-like, to fall down with a pinch;
But rather moody-mad, and desperate stags,
Turn on the bloody hounds with heads of steel,
And make the cowards stand aloof at bay:
Sell every man his life as dear as mine,
And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends.—
God, and Saint George! Talbot, and England's right!*

But it is in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, in the wood near Athens, where so many English scenes and legends have found a permanent abode, that we find the most beautiful description of the chase.

Theseus.—My love shall hear the musick of my hounds.—
Uncouple in the western valley; . .
We will, fair queen, up to the mountain's top,
And mark the musical confusion
Of hounds and echo in conjunction.
Hippolyta.—I was with Hercules, and Cadmus, once,
When in a wood of Crete they bay'd the bear
With hounds of Sparta: never did I hear
Such gallant chiding; for, besides the groves,
The skies, the fountains, every region near
Seem'd all one mutual cry: I never heard
So musical a discord, such sweet thunder.
Theseus.—My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flew'd, so sanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
Crook-knee'd, and dew-lap'd like Thessalian bulls;
Slow in pursuit, but match'd in mouth like bells,
Each under each. A cry more tuneable
Was never holla'd to, nor cheer'd with horn,
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly.†

The dog here described is larger and more powerful, but slower than the fox-hound, "the dappled darling" of the present day; it is supposed to refer to the Talbot hound, a race now extinct, or nearly so. In this passage Shakspeare has mixed up in a most curious manner the mythical heroes of ancient Greece, and the sports of an English midland county in the days of our great Queen Elizabeth. I cannot help contrasting this passage with one from that poem in

* 1 *Henry VI*, Act iv, Scene 2.
† *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act iv, Scene 1.

which our Laureate has so exquisitely sketched the tendencies of the present age. The Princess and her train of lady students sally forth

> to take
> The dip of certain strata to the North;

and when the place was reached, our poet says—

> Many a little hand
> Glanced like a touch of sunshine on the rocks,
> Many a light foot shone like a jewel set
> In the dark crag: and then we turn'd, we wound
> About the cliffs, the copses, out and in,
> Hammering and clinking, chattering stony names
> Of shale and hornblende, rag and trap and tuff,
> Amygdaloid and trachyte.*

Where Shakspeare brings in a hunting scene and the woodland, Tennyson describes a band of ladies bent on upholding the equality of woman, and forming a geological party. I will give one quotation more to prove Shakspeare's acquaintance with the greenwood and its inhabitants, an acquaintance so intimate that it seems to confirm the tradition that he had to fly from Warwickshire for having broken the lodge and killed the deer of Master Shallow. It is the scene in *As You Like It*, where the Duke and the other fugitive lords discuss their way of life in the forest of Arden. The Duke, after praising the "sweet uses of adversity," allows that he feels compunction at one part of their life.

> Yet it irks me, the poor dappled fools,—
> Being native burghers of this desert city,—
> Should in their own confines, with forked heads
> Have their round haunches gor'd.

Then follows that touching account of the death of the stag, which could only have been written by one who had felt both the excitement of the chase, and also compunction at its results. It is as follows:—

* Tennyson's *Princess*.

To the which place a poor sequester'd stag,
That from the hunter's aim had ta'en a hurt,
Did come to languish; and indeed, my lord,
The wretched animal heav'd forth such groans,
That their discharge did stretch his leathern coat
Almost to bursting; and the big round tears
Cours'd one another down his innocent nose
In piteous chase: and thus the hairy fool,
Much marked of the melancholy Jaques.
Stood on the extremest verge of the swift brook,
Augmenting it with tears. . . .
Poor deer, quoth he, *thou mak'st a testament*
As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more
To that which had too much: Then, being alone,
Left and abandon'd of his velvet friends;
'Tis right, quoth he; *thus misery doth part*
The flux of company: Anon, a careless herd,
Full of the pasture, jumps along by him,
And never stays to greet him; *Ay*, quoth Jaques,
Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens;
'Tis just the fashion; Wherefore do you look
*Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?**

There is far more in Shakspeare's plays about the deer, than about any of the domestic animals, including the horse and the dog; it is clear which animal engrossed the largest portion of his thoughts. Compared with hunting, we find but little about hawking; noble companies rode forth with hawk in hand and hound in leash, but the sport was not for the multitude; and the birds of the moor-land were not equal to the stags of the forest. I do not think there is any scene in Shakspeare which brings it in very prominently, but there are several allusions to it. Hamlet, for instance, quotes the well known proverb, "I am but mad north-north west; when the wind "is southerly, *I know a hawk from a hand-saw*,"† (heron-shaw.) Again, in the scene where Romeo has just left his lady love, Juliet calls him back.

O, for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again.‡

* *As You Like It*, Act ii, Scene 1.
† *Hamlet*, Act ii, Scene 2. ‡ *Romeo and Juliet*, Act ii, Scene 2.

Whilst Petruchio, when he is engaged in taming the shrewish Katharina, compares the task he has undertaken to that of the falconer bringing the wild bird into subjection.

> My falcon now is sharp, and passing empty;
> And, till she stoop, she must not be full-gorg'd,
> For then she never looks upon her lure.
> Another way I have to man my haggard,
> To make her come, and know her keeper's call,
> That is,—to watch her, as we watch these kites,
> That bate, and beat, and will not be obedient.*

In the Second Part of *Henry VI*, the nobles who have been out hawking, "flying at the brook," coming back quarrelling with each other for their ambitious aims, and the soaring flight of the falcons, and the soaring designs of these proud chieftains are compared together.†

The greenwood was resorted to by others besides the huntsmen and the village maids, and by outlaws in search of shelter; it was there the Athenian lovers oft times went, as Hermia says—

> And in the wood, where often you and I
> Upon faint primrose-beds were wont to lie,
> Emptying our bosoms of their counsel sweet;
> There my Lysander and myself shall meet.‡

There too was enacted the quarrel between the two Athenian maids, the handsome dwarfish Hermia, sharp and witty with her tongue, and the blooming, graceful, amiable Helena, "a "right maid for her cowardice," whose only safety was in flight, whose early friendship has been so beautifully described by Shakspeare. 'Tis thus Helena reproaches her companion:—

> Is all the counsel that we two have shar'd,
> The sisters' vows, the hours that we have spent,
> When we have chid the hasty-footed time
> For parting us,—O, and is all forgot?

* *Taming of the Shrew*, Act iv, Scene 1.

† 2 *Henry VI*, Act ii, Scene 1.

‡ *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act i, Scene 1.

All school-days' friendship, childhood innocence?
We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,
Have with our needs created both one flower,
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,
Both warbling of one song, both in one key;
As if our hands, our sides, voices, and minds,
Had been incorporate.—So we grew together,
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted;
But yet a union in partition,
Two lovely berries moulded on one stem:
So with two seeming bodies, but one heart.*

But Shakspeare's forest had other more permanent denizens than any I have so far named,—than the mere casual visitors during the gladsome day. As soon as the sun had sunk below the horizon, and the gloom of night had settled over the glades of the woodland, the spirits of the unseen world come forth, some to add to the beauties of the sylvan realm, some to engage in acts of beneficence to man, some in tasks of mirth and merriment, and a few in those of ill-will and spite. Here I come to Shakspeare's fairy land. Out of the legends floating around the greenwood of Warwickshire, he has produced a creation so beautiful, so airy, that I doubt whether anything equal is to be found in the poetry of any other nation. One cannot but compare the beings he has described to a collection of jewels, from their purity, their diminutive size, and their graceful—one might almost say sparkling—movements. If we examine the mythology of Greece and Rome, we shall find nothing at all worthy of being compared with them; without it be "that small infantry "warr'd on by cranes." Indeed, the poet tells us, but he tells us as if it were an after-thought, that the pigmy race, after their destruction by the cranes, were turned into the little people of our woods:

Or if belief to matron tales be due,
Full oft, in the belated shepherd's view,
Their frisking forms, in gentle green array'd,
Gambol secure amid the moonlight glade.

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act iii, Scene 2.

Secure, for no alarming cranes molest,
And all their woes in long oblivion rest:
Down the deep vale, and narrow winding way,
They foot it featly, ranged in ringlets gay:
'Tis joy and frolic all, where'er they rove,
And fairy-people is the name they love.*

The wood-nymphs and the water-nymphs, Pan, Silenus, and their tribe, are often gross and corporeal—sometimes indeed, utterly disgusting beings.

The mythology of the Norsemen, born amid the ice-bound coasts and stormy tempests of the northern seas, differs very widely from the spirit-world of the English woods. One part of it converts the shipwright and the smith and the hardy sailor and the savage pirate chief into so many heroes and demigods; and it celebrated their feasts, their drinking and their revelry and their fights on land and on ship-board. Another part relates to the supernatural elves who haunt desolate places and, occasionally, the abodes of man, who form a connecting link between the human race and the world of spirits. It also relates wonderful stories of trolls and monsters and goblins, who sometimes exercise tyranny over man, and who sometimes are subdued by those possessed of magical arts. The legends of Scandinavia contain many stories which may be compared with the *Tempest*, with Ariel and the other spirits who obey the commands of Prospero; but they contain none which exhibit the exquisite beauty of the fairy land of the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Iceland,—with its marvellous physical formation, calculated to produce unearthly impressions on credulous minds, with its jagged coasts, its volcanic mountains, its plains of lava, and its plains of ice, its boiling fountains, its long night of winter and its long day of summer,—possesses a literature which is, perhaps, richer in the supernatural than that of any other country; but it is

* Beattie's *Pygmæo-Gerano-Machia.*

rude and terrible and ghostly, and cannot fairly be compared with the charming fairy land of Shakspeare's greenwood.

The legends of the Red Indian, though in some respects very different, have in other respects a certain resemblance to the tales of the spirit land of England, because they attribute a spiritual source to the operations of nature, to the winds from the mountains, to the growth of plants, and to many of the arts of life. They connect the every-day life of man with the unseen world around him. Shakspeare ingrafts the beauties of nature on his fairy realm; in a somewhat similar manner Longfellow repeats the legends of the Red Man, which were found

> In the bird's-nests of the forest,
> In the lodges of the beaver,
> In the hoof-prints of the bison,
> In the eyry of the eagle!

For instance, we have the beautiful story of the chief who

> Prayed and fasted in the forest,
> For the profit of the people,
> For advantage of the nations;

who then, "by struggle and by labour," overcomes a youth,

> Dressed in garments green and yellow,
> Plumes of green bent o'er his forehead,

and for his conflict and his conquest is rewarded by the Great Spirit—the Master of Life—with the gift of maize.

> Mondamin, the friend of man, Mondamin.

This story is an instance of the manner in which the half civilized man mingles the natural and the supernatural.

There is a certain weird character about the spirit world of North Britain. Warlocks and witches dancing around unearthly lights in the ruined kirk are the types of the superstitions of Scotland; even the Queen of Elfinland, who carried away Thomas the Rhymer, is one of the same ghostly character.

The imaginative, poetical sons of Erin have constructed a spirit world which, with its banshees and phoccas, and spirit horsemen, seems to combine the legends of Scotland with those of the English greenwood.

One of the spirits of Shakspeare's woodland, and one only, is of fearful form—in fact, a ghost condemned to haunt the forest; it is that of Herne the hunter—

> Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,
> Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
> Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns;
> And there he blasts the tree, and takes the cattle;
> And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
> In a most hideous and dreadful manner.*

One characteristic of the fairy tribe is the marvellous extent of their powers, and the contrast between their ordinary pastimes and the tasks they can perform—the earth, the air, the seas, the tempests and the bolts of heaven, are all controlled by them; and they again are guided by the magician's still more potent art. Prospero thus addresses them:—

> Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;
> And ye, that on the sands with printless foot
> Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him,
> When he comes back; you demy-puppets, that
> By moon-shine do the green-sour ringlets make,
> Whereof the ewe not bites; and you, whose pastime
> Is to make midnight-mushrooms; that rejoice
> To hear the solemn curfew; by whose aid
> (Weak masters though you be) I have be-dimm'd
> The noon-tide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
> And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
> Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
> Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
> With his own bolt: the strong-bas'd promontory
> Have I made shake; and by the spurs pluck'd up
> The pine, and cedar; graves, at my command,
> Have wak'd their sleepers; oped, and led them forth
> By my so potent art.†

The diminutive size of the fairies is always preserved—

* *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act iv, Scene 3.

† *Tempest*, Act v, Scene 1.

indeed, it is one of the chief elements of their beauty, so different from the elves, "the eighteen-inch militia" of other lands. When Bottom finds his way to the bower of Titania, the love-sick fairy queen commands her various spirits to wait on him. One of them, Cobweb (the name shows how well he was acquainted with the wiles of the enemies of the hive), was ordered to bring him a honey-bag. The weaver tells him, "Good Monsieur, have a care the honey-bag break not; I "would be loath to have you overflown with a honey-bag, "Signior." In the account of the quarrel between Titania and Oberon, we find

> That all their elves, for fear,
> Creep into acorn cups, and hide them there.*

Again, Titania tells her love—

> I have a venturous fairy that shall seek
> The squirrel's hoard, and fetch thee new nuts.†

It was a venturous task, evidently more than an ordinary feat for a fairy. But in every passage we shall find what tiny people they are. The first individual spirit I shall mention is Ariel, the "dainty Ariel," the delicate spirit who obeys the commands of a human master, in gratitude for his deliverance from the sorceries of the vile witch Sycorax. He has power over the winds and the breezes, even over the forked bolt of heaven and over the stormy seas, as he says—

> I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,
> Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,
> I flamed amazement: Sometimes, I'd divide,
> And burn in many places; on the topmast,
> The yards, and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
> Then meet, and join: Jove's lightnings, the precursors
> O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary
> And sight-outrunning were not.‡

These various tasks form a curious contrast to the song in

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 1. † *Ibid*, Act iv, Scene 1.
‡ *Tempest*, Act i, Scene 2.

which he describes his haunts and occupations. From the latter we should suppose he was no larger than a humming-bird.

Where the bee sucks, there suck I;
In a cowslip's bell I lie:
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly,
After summer merrily:
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.*

Another of Shakspeare's spirits is Queen Mab, the inspirer of dreams. The description occurs in *Romeo and Juliet;* and it is curious that in that love tale of Verona, he brings in a creation of the woody glades of Warwickshire—an Italian courtier relating an English legend. She is said to

Gallop night by night
Through lovers' brains, and then they dream of love:
O'er lawyers' fingers, who straight dream on fees:
O'er ladies' lips, who straight on kisses dream;
And sometimes comes she with a tithe-pig's tail,
Tickling a parson's nose as 'a lies asleep,
Then dreams he of another benefice.†

But the lines describing the equipage of this queen of dreams are by far the most beautiful part of this passage:—

She comes
In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
On the fore-finger of an alderman,
Drawn with a team of little atomies
Athwart men's noses as they lie asleep:
Her waggon-spokes made of long spinners' legs;
The cover, of the wings of grasshoppers;
The traces, of the smallest spider's web;
The collars, of the moonshine's watery beams:
Her whip, of cricket's bone: the lash, of film:
Her waggoner, a small grey-coated gnat,
Not half so big as a round little worm
Prick'd from the lazy finger of a maid:
Her chariot is an empty hazel-nut,
Made by the joiner squirrel, or old grub,
Time out of mind the fairies' coach-makers.‡

* *Tempest*, Act v, Scene 1. † *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 1, Scene 4.
‡ *Romeo and Juliet*, Act i, Scene 4.

But one of the most important members of the fairy world is the merry spirit Puck, Oberon's henchman, to whose mischievous pranks all the misadventures of English rustic life are attributed. I presume he has faded away before increasing population and improved agriculture, and that almost all that remains of him is to be found in Shakspeare's verses.

Fairy— You are that shrewd and knavish sprite,
Call'd Robin Goodfellow: are you not he,
That frights the maidens of the villagery;
Skim milk; and sometimes labour in the quern,
And bootless make the breathless housewife churn;
And sometimes make the drink to bear no barm;
Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck,
You do their work, and they shall have good luck:
Are you not he?

Puck— Thou speak'st aright;
I am that merry wanderer of the night.
I jest to Oberon, and make him smile,
When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile,
Neighing in likeness to a silly foal:
And sometime lurk I in a gossip's bowl,
In very likeness of a roasted crab;
And, when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
And on her wither'd dew-lap pour the ale.
The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,
Sometimes for three-foot stool mistaketh me;
Then slip I from her, and down topples she,
And tailor cries, and falls into a cough;
And then the whole quire hold their hips, and loffe;
And waxen in their mirth, and sneeze, and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there.*

Milton, in *L'Allegro*, devotes a few lines to fairy land, in which he makes the goblin far more prominent than the rest of the tribe. The passage is as follows:—

With stories told of many a feat,
How faery Mab the junkets eat;
She was pinch'd and pull'd, she sed;
And he, by friar's lantern led,
Tells how the drudging Goblin swet,
To earn his cream-bowl duly set,
When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 1.

His shadowy flail hath thresh'd the corn,
That ten day-labourers could not end;
Then lies him down the lubbar fiend,
And stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
Basks at the fire his hairy strength;
And crop-full out of doors he flings,
Ere the first cock his matin rings.*

There is nothing said about Puck's size; still we may infer it was much greater than that of the rest of the fairies. But Titania, the fairy queen, is the masterpiece of Shakspeare's poem; everything around her is ethereal and graceful, except the weaver Bottom, on whom the wicked spirit Puck had played the greatest of his pranks, and who is introduced very much for sake of contrast. Nothing can be more beautiful than the account of Titania's bower—

I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows,
Where ox-lips and the nodding violet grows;
Quite over-canopied with lush woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses, and with eglantine:
There sleeps Titania, some time of the night,
Lull'd in these flowers with dances and delight.†

A band of small elves defend their sleeping mistress, and keep away the more odious inhabitants of the forest, singing this lullaby—

You spotted snakes, with double tongue,
Thorny hedge-hogs, be not seen?
Newts, and blind-worms, do no wrong;
Come not near our fairy queen:
Weaving spiders, come not here;
Hence, you long-legg'd spinners, hence;
Beetles black, approach not near;
Worm, nor snail, do no offence.‡

The fairy dance, the fairy song, take up a portion of the night, but not the whole of it. They have certain duties to perform—slight, indeed, and adapted to their tiny form and

* Milton's *L'Allegro.* † *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 2.
‡ *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 3.

woodland dwelling. The fairy queen disperses her spirits on various errands of fairy economy.

> Come, now a roundel, and a fairy song;
> Then, for the third part of a minute, hence;
> Some, to kill cankers in the musk-rose buds;
> Some, war with rear-mice for their leathern wings,
> To make my small elves coats; and some keep back
> The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots, and wonders
> At our quaint spirits.*

When Bottom, "the shallowest thick-skin of that barren "set," is transformed and led into the bower of the fairy queen, she crowns the hairy temples of her love

> With coronet of fresh and fragrant flowers,

and summons all her band to minister to his wants.

> Be kind and courteous to this gentleman;
> Hop in his walks, and gambol in his eyes;
> Feed him with apricocks and dewberries,
> With purple grapes, green figs, and mulberries;
> The honey bags steal from the humble-bees,
> And, for night tapers, crop their waxen thighs,
> And light them at the fiery glow-worm's eyes,
> To have my love to bed, and to arise;
> And pluck the wings from painted butterflies,
> To fan the moon-beams from his sleeping eyes.†

Here, and indeed in all the passages I shall quote, we have the fairies mingled with and decking themselves with the most beautiful gems of the natural world. Another spirit, perhaps one of the more important ones, gives this account of his moonlight labours:—

> Over hill, over dale,
> Thorough bush, thorough briar,
> Over park, over pale,
> Thorough flood, thorough fire,
> I do wander every where,
> Swifter than the moones sphere;
> And I serve the fairy queen,
> To dew her orbs upon the green:
> The cowslips tall her pensioners be;

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 3. † *Ibid*, Act iii, Scene 1.

In their gold coats spots you see;
Those be rubies, fairy favours,
In those freckles live their savours:
I must go seek some dew-drops here,
And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear.*

The glittering dew-drops are not the only signs they give the human race of their existence. Like other bodies politic, the fairy world has its commotions and jealousies and petty wars; and wars, small as well as great, will leave visible traces behind them. Thus Titania complains that Oberon has prevented her and her train from extending their benignant influences to man.

Never, since the middle summer's spring,
Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead.
By paved fountain, or by rushy brook,
Or on the beached margent of the sea,
To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
But with all thy brawls thou hast disturb'd our sport.
Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea
Contagious fogs, . . . and the green corn
Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard.
The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud;
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
For lack of tread, are undistinguishable:
The human mortals want their winter here;
No night is now with hymn or carol blest.†

The fairies have other duties to perform besides watching over the opening flowers, contesting the rule of the night with the buzzing or crawling insects, and assisting the seasons in their course. They have sympathies with the human race. They caress and defend those who are attached to them, in the most devoted manner. Titania will not part with the little changeling boy, even at the risk of a quarrel with her lord. She protests—

The fairy land buys not the child of me,
His mother was a vot'ress of my order;

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 1. † *Ibid*, Act ii, Scene 2.

And, in the spiced Indian air, by night,
Full often hath she gossip'd by my side.
. . . . . .
And, for her sake, I do rear up her boy;
And, for her sake, I will not part with him.*

Again, the fairies haunt the houses of their friends, scattering blessings around them. They enter the palace of Theseus, and Oberon enjoins—

Now, until the break of day,
Through this house each fairy stray,
To the best bride-bed will we,
Which by us shall blessed be.

Break of day warns the fairies to bring their task to an end. Let but the sun appear, and their kingdom will vanish into thin air. They are as unsubstantial as the spirits whom Prospero describes:—

These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd tow'rs, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind: We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.+

The dawn of the morning causes Puck to warn his master that the ghosts are trooping home to the places of their abode:

For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast.
And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger.

Oberon answers—

But we are spirits of another sort:
I with the Morning's Love have oft made sport;
And, like a forester, the groves may tread,
Even till the eastern gate, all fiery red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt-green streams.‡

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act ii, Scene 2. + *Tempest*, Act iv, Scene 1.
‡ *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act iii, Scene 2.

A little longer and their tasks are done, and they have all melted away. Then Bottom the weaver finds himself awake, near a hawthorn thicket. The strange visions of the night flit through his brain; the ass's head, which so admirably fitted the wearer, and the elfin queen, who so freely offered him her love—what were they? Bottom answers the question himself, and from his muddled brain pours forth this version of the adventures of the night. "I have had a dream,—past "the wit of man to say what dream it was: Man is but an ass, "if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was— "there is no man can tell what. Methought I was, and "methought I had.—But man is but a patched fool, if he "will offer to say what methought I had."*

And thus, in one of the most beautiful compositions man ever penned, Shakspeare has preserved the airy visions, the summer's evening dreams, about the fairy people of the woodlands of Warwickshire.

My paper has extended much longer than I at first intended; but I think I have proved what I have tried to do—our great poet's strong love for the forest, and that it was no transient feeling which inspired the words which Amiens sang:—

Under the greenwood tree,
Who loves to lie with me,
And tune his merry note,
Unto the sweet bird's throat,
Come hither, come hither, come hither;
There shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather.†

* *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act iv, Scene 1.

† *As You Like It*, Act ii, Scene 5.

THE PAMPHLET LITERATURE OF LIVERPOOL.

By Thomas Dawson Esq., M.R.C.S.

(Read 4th February, 10th March and 3rd November, 1864).

Having, for several years, been a collector of books and pamphlets printed or published in, or peculiarly relating to, Liverpool, I had intended presenting to the Historic Society a catalogue of books and pamphlets united, under the names of their authors, in alphabetical order. In this, however, I have been partially anticipated by Mr. Mott, who has published in our *Transactions* a catalogue of books published in Liverpool. It has been thus left to me to grapple with the more arduous task of cataloguing the pamphlets, which, for uniformity, I propose arranging in the same chronological order and to the same date—1850.

The papers read to the Society, and intended to form a preface to this catalogue, cannot possibly be printed for want of space, the list having extended far beyond the ordinary limits of a single paper. The difficulty of getting together these little links, which, united, form such a strong bond of union with the past, is very great;—they are scattered about in unaccountable places, and for the most part neglected and forgotten. The present catalogue is very far from exhaustive, being little more than a list of local pamphlets which, by quiet perseverance, I have been able to gather together for my own library.

About the year 1700 a printing press appears to have been first established in Liverpool, under the management of

Samuel Terry, in Dale Street; he must have had a good business, being possessed of Greek type and able to commence a newspaper. How long he had been settled in the town pursuing this trade is unknown; the earliest specimen I can find of his work is a pamphlet printed in 1710, for Joseph Eaton. From this date I commence my catalogue. It is amusing to have it on record, that so recently as in the year 1647 two dictionaries were ordered for the parish school, with the injunction that they be chained to the desk or wall—a striking proof of the rarity of books in Liverpool at that period.

As a pamphlet is generally an essay or treatise on some subject of temporary interest, we shall find, in looking through the present collection, that many of these bear upon the more important events in the history of the town and illustrate those rapid but gigantic strides which so suddenly carried Liverpool to her present eminence among the great commercial cities of the world. It must not be forgotten that the pioneers of her greatness rose from the ranks and had to keep pace with the enormous growth of commerce; had therefore abundant other calls on their attention and but slight qualifications for literary work. Yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the period of a hundred and fifty years embraced in my catalogue is not entirely barren of productions whose interest is enhanced by their literary merit. Of their special interest to the members of a Society engaged in reclaiming from oblivion whatever conduces to a clearer apprehension of the past a glance at the titles here recorded will afford ample proof; and, in dismissing the present imperfect compilation, I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the Society may succeed in obtaining from other sources the means of rendering it more nearly complete.

CATALOGUE.

1710. A Sermon preached at the Assizes, held at Lancaster, August 27th, 1710. By Henry Richmond, Rector of Leverpoole.
Pr. for J. E., and sold by Joseph Eaton.

1714. A Sermon preached on the occasion of the Death of Her late Majesty, Queen Anne of Glorious Memory, in the Parochial Church of St. Peter, in Leverpoole, on Sunday, the 5th of September, 1714. By Henry Richmond, Rector of Leverpoole.
Pr. S. Terry for Anne Eaton.

1719. A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable Mr. Justice Powe and Mr. Baron Price at the Assizes, held at Lancaster, August 27th, 1719. By Henry Richmond, Rector of Liverpool.
Pr. S. Terry, in Dale Street, for the Booksellers there.

A Sermon at St. Peter's Church, in Liverpool, 27th September, 1719. By Henry Richmond, Co-Rector of the Parish Church of St. Peter and Parochial-Chappel of our Lady and St. Nicholas. Published in a small character for the benefit of meaner People. Price 2d.
Pr. S. Terry, in Dale Street, for the Booksellers in Liverpool.

Psalms. Singer's Instructor, by Joshua Marsden, 12mo.

A Sermon preached in St. Peter's Church, Liverpool, for promoting the Charity School, lately erected in that place. By Rev. Robert Horrobin, Curate of Warrington.
Pr. Samuel Terry, in Dale Street.

1722. Wolstenholme's Charity Sermon in Liverpool.
Pr. Liverpool.

1784. Liverpool Poll Book. Candidates—T. Bootle, F. Cunliffe, T. Brereton, R. Geldard.

1738. Sermon at St. Peter's, for the Blue Coat Hospital. By N. Hartwell.

1740. Short Account of a Course of Philosophy and Astronomy. By J. Arden, Teacher of the Mathematics in Derby.
Pr. J. Sadler.

1745. Wolstenholme's Sermon on Rebellion of 1745.
Pr. in Liverpool.

1748. An Act for Cleansing and Enlightening the Streets of the Town of Liverpool, and for keeping and maintaining a Nightly Watch.

1750. A Sermon preached in the Old Church, at Liverpool, for the Publick Infirmary. By John Stanley, M.A. Also contains the Auditor's Report from March, 1749, to March, 1750.
Pr. John Sadler.

1751. Sermon at St. George's, for the Blue Coat Hospital. By J. Phipps.

To the Worshipful the Magistrates: to the Gentlemen of the Council, and to the Whole Community of the Town of Liverpool. Water Question.

1753. A Letter to a Priest of the Church of Rome, on the Subject of Image-Worship.
Pr. J. Sadler.

Sermon preached at Wigan Church, on Sunday, November 4th.

The Goodman. Sermon on the Death of William Stratford, Esq., LL.D. By Rev. T. Hunter, Vicar of Garstang, in Lancashire.
Pr. John Sadler.

1754. Poll Book; Candidates:—Hardman, Salusbury, Lloyd.

1757. A Table showing by inspection, what sum must be insured to cover any principal either for Self or on Commission, at any Premium from 1 to 30 per cent., either Pounds or Guineas.
Pr. J. Sadler.

1757 to 1759. Ten Pamphlets, bound, small Quarto, concerning Alderman Joseph Clegg—to the Worshipful Mayor and the Common Council of the Corporation of Liverpool. Some printed in Manchester.

1758. Sermon on the Death of Samuel Hunter, Jun., Mariner. The Love of God. By John Johnson.
Pr. E. Owen.

1761. An Account of the Extraordinary Medical Fluid called Æther. By Matthew Turner, Surgeon, in Liverpool.
Pr. J. Sadler.

Two Squib-books and Poll-book, Candidates:—Sir W. Meredith, Sir Ellis Cunliffe, Charles Pole.

1763. A Dessertation upon the Subject of Circumcision, &c. By John Brakell of Liverpool.
Sold by J. Gore.

1765. Reasons for paying more attention to the Propagation of Oak Timber. By Roger Fisher.

1766. A Discourse on Church Music, occasioned by the opening of the New Organ of St. Peter's Church, in Liverpool, on Wednesday, April 30th. By the Rev. John Brekell.
Pr. J. Gore.

All at Stake. By John Brekell.
Pr. in Liverpool, n.d.

The Messiah, at St. Peter's Church. The first Grand Oratorio performed in Liverpool.

View of the advantages of Inland Navigations; with a plan of a Canal between Liverpool and Hull. Second Edition.

First Liverpool Directory, 40 pages.
Pr. by W. Nevett and Co, for J. Gore.

1768. Samson. An Oratorio. Composed by Mr. Handel.
Pr. in Liverpool.

To the Sailors and Carpenters of Great Britain, particularly to those of Liverpool. By John Phillips.

1769. Sermon for the Infirmary. By J. Brekell.

1770. The Famous History of Guy, Earl of Warrick.

1771. Sermon, entitled Religion necessary to the Being and Happiness of Society. By Rev. Thomas Maddock, A.M.

1773. An Essay on the Liverpool Spa Water. By Thomas Houlston, M.D.

Experiments on the Spaw, at Mount Sion, near Liverpool. By Mr. J. Worthington, Surgeon.

Two Essays on the Temperature of the Air and Sea. By the late Matthew Dobson, M.D.

1774-7. Abstract of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Several Committees of the Chamber of Commerce of the Port of Liverpool.

1774. An Ode on the institution of the Society for the encouragement of the Arts. By W. Roscoe. This is about the earliest specimen of Poetry.

The Catalogue of the first Exhibition in Liverpool. Entitled Pictures, Drawings, Prints, &c. Exhibited by the Society of Artists in Liverpool.

Observations made in a Tour through South Wales and Shropshire. By O. S. Brereton, Recorder of Liverpool.

1775. Jeptha, an Oratorio, composed by Mr. Handel, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Liverpool, on Thursday, April 27th.

Experiments in a Heated Room, in the Hospital, at Liverpool. By Dr. Dobson.

1776. A Sermon preached in the Octagon Chapel, Liverpool. By N. Clayton.

Pr. J. Sibbald.

Observation on the Annual Evaporation at Liverpool. By Dr. Dobson.

1777. Mount Pleasant. A Poem. By W. Roscoe.

Pr. at Warrington. Pub. in Liverpool.

Robert Blackburne on Navigation. Claimant for discovering or finding the Longitude at Sea.

A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Rev. James Yates and Rev. Hugh Anderson, in Liverpool. By Rev. Wm. Enfield.

1779. Observations on Amputation. By Edward Alanson, Surgeon.

1778. The Isle of Man; or, the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin.

Pr. G. Woods.

1780. Form of Prayer for His Majesty's Arms by Sea and Land.

Pr. Johnson.

Squib-book and Poll-book. Candidates:—B. Gascoyne, R. Pennant, H. Rawlinson.

1781. Rules and Orders of the Public Infirmary, at Liverpool.

Pr. A. Williamson.

1782. Poem. The Dismembered Empire. By Edward Rushton.

A New Form of Prayer, For a General Fast, to be observed on Friday, February 8th.

Pr. Johnson.

1783. Charter granted to the Burgesses of Liverpool, by King William III; also by George II. Order and Petition with Report.

Pr. T. Johnson, Fenwick Street.

The Dispensary—a Poem. By James Clarke. In three parts.

Letter, &c., by H. Park, Surgeon of Liverpool, to Mr. Pott, On a New Method of treating diseases of the Joints.

1784. Observations on Poisons, &c. By T. Houlston, M.D., late Senior Physician to the Liverpool Infirmary.

Medical Essay on Disorders of the Town of Liverpool. By William Moss, Surgeon.

Familiar Medical Survey of Liverpool. By Wm. Moss, Surgeon.

1784. Selections of Music from Handel, at St. Peter's Church.

Poll-book. Candidates:—B. Gascoyne, Col. Tarleton, Lord Penryhn, Sir W. Meredith.

1785. Principles of English Grammar, &c. By J. Knowles.

Pr. H. Hodgson.

Mr. Lunardi's Account of his ascension and Aerial Voyage, from the New Fort, Liverpool, July 20th.

Mr. Lunardi's second ascent, on August 2nd.

1786. An Address. The promotion of the Arts, and the cultivation of taste, and to provide an Academy easy of access, and at a moderate expense.

Remarks on Hydrophobia, and on the Ormskirk Medicine. By Thomas Houlston, M.D.

1787. West Indian Eclogues. By Edward Rushton.

Observations on Poisons, &c. By Dr. Houlston, Liverpool Infirmary.

Catalogue of the Second Exhibition in Liverpool.

Redemption: A Sacred Oratorio. Music Hall.

1788. The Outlines of a Trial of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, with a View to Union.

Pr. R. Ferguson, Dale Street.

Account of the African Slave Trade, collected from Local Knowledge, evidence at Bar of Parliament, and Tracts.

Pr. Ann Smith, Pool Lane.

The Wrongs of Africa, 2 parts. By William Roscoe.

The Wrongs of Almoona; or, the African's Revenge, a Poem.

Pr. Hodgson, Pool Lane.

The Institutes of Free Masonry; to which is added a choice collection of Epilogues, Songs, &c. By John Furnough.

Pr. T. Johnson.

Observations on the Slave Trade. Rev. R. B. Nicholls.

Scriptural refutation of a pamphlet, by Rev. R. Harris, On the Illicitness of the Slave Trade. By William Roscoe.

An Address to the Inhabitants in General of Great Britain and Ireland, Relating to a Few of the Consequences which must result from Abolition of Slave Trade.

Pr. E. Smith.

Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade, shewing its Conformity with the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion. By Rev. R. Harris.

Pr. Hodgson.

1788. A Particular Examination of Mr. Harris's Researches. By Henry Dunnett, M.A., St. John's Church.

Observations on the Treatment of Negroes in Jamaica, &c. By Hector M'Neill.

1789. Hymns. By Rev. S. Medley, of Liverpool.

Pr. G. Nicholson.

A Hieroglyphick, the Wonder of the World, containing letters to the Nations. Wrote by a Pilgrim.

A Descriptive Poem of the Town and Trade of Liverpool. By J. Walker, a Shoemaker.

Pr. H. Hodgson.

1790. Poll-book and Squib-book. Candidates:—Col. Tarleton, B. Gascoyne, Jun.; Lord Penrhyn, T. T. Parker.

A Letter to a Certain Young Divine, occasioned by Letters addressed to Mr. Medley. By a Member of Church of England.

Pr. Hodgson.

Some Remarks on the Resolutions of the Archdeaconry of Chester; with some Observations on Pitt and Burke's Arguments relative to a Repeal of the Test Act. By Rev. J. Smith, Liverpool.

Letters to Mr. Medley, occasioned by his behaviour while engaged in performing Divine Service. By John Edwards.

1791. Sermon preached before the Marine Society, St. John's Church. By Rev. R. Formby, LL.B.

Pr. J. Gore.

J. Edward's Vindication.

An Answer to Letters addressed to Rev. Mr. Medley by Rev. J. Edwards. By W. Hobson, Minister of Gospel, in Edmund Street.

Pr. Hodgson.

An Appendix to the Psalms used at Paradise Street and Benn's Garden Chapels, in Liverpool.

Pr. J. Gore.

1792. The Principles of English Grammar. By John Knowles. Third Edition.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

Epistle to Edward Rushton.

The Excursion of Osman, a Political Romance.

Pr. T. Schofield, Dale Street.

1792. A Serious and Affectionate Address to the Inhabitants of Lancashire. By the Rev. R. Formby, LL.B., J.P.

1793. Sermon preached before the Mayor and Corporation, at St. George's Church. By Rev. Samuel Renshaw, M.A.

A Copy of an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Friendly Societies.

Pr. J. Gore.

A Letter to one of the Socinian preachers in Liverpool. Part I.

Letters concerning the Slave Trade; and with respect to its intended Abolition. By a Merchant to his Friend on the Continent.

A Letter, Political and Commercial, addressed to The Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt. By Jasper Wilson, Esq., alias Dr. Currie, of Liverpool.

1794. Concerts at St. Thomas's Church and Music Hall, in September.

1795. The History of Man after God's own Heart.

The History of Valentine and Orson.

The Elements of Geography: Use of Globes and Maps, &c. By John Clegg.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

1796. Journal of the British Army at Ostend.

Pr. Merritt and Wright.

Letters on the Scotch Distillery Laws. By Edward Corrie.

Poll-book and Squib-book. Candidates:—Gen. Tarleton, Col. Gascoyne, J. Tarleton.

Action at Law against Thomas Golightly, Esq., by the Corporation of Liverpool, for the recovery of a Penalty under a By-law made by them.

1797. Expostulatory Letter to George Washington. By E. Rushton.

The Elements of the French Grammar as taught at Vernon Hall. By the Rev. J. B. A. Gerardot.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

The Good Old Way; or, the Religion of our Forefathers. Recommended by the Rev. R. Bannister.

Pr. Robinson and Lang.

Poll-book, for Election of Mayor, between T. Staniforth and J. Brooks.

Outlines of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry. By T. Garnett, M.D.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

1797. Liverpool Corporation Accounts.

An Act for the better regulation and encouragement of Pilots, for the conducting of ships and vessels in and out of the Port of Liverpool.

Abstract of Laws, &c. Thomas Cowhern, Clerk.

Pilots' Act. July 18th, 1797. Liverpool.

Meeting of Pilots' Committee, June 26th, 1798.

1798. Elegy on the decease of the Rev. Mr. Wise, of St. James' Church.

An explanatory Address to the Public, on the Character and Prophecies of Richard Brothers, and his Mission to recall the Jews. By Bart. Prescot.

Pr. Robinson and Lang.

Catalogue of the Minerva Library. T. Troughton, 45, Ranelagh Street.

Letters on the Salt Trade.

An Act to enable the Mayor, &c., of Liverpool, to raise Money for its defence against the Enemy.

Elliott's Liverpool Almanac. First Number.

1799. Laws and Regulations of the Liverpool Athenæum.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

A Collection of Maxims, Observations, &c.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

Gortz of Berlingen, with the Iron Hand: An Historical Drama of the 15th Century.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

An Act for the relief of the Merchants of Liverpool and Lancaster. Act 12th.

Occasional Hymns. 23 pages.

Pr. W. Harding.

1800. A Melancholy but True Story. A Poem.

Pr. Ann and Egerton Smith, Pool Lane.

A New System of Shorthand. By Samuel Richardson. Third Edition, 1803.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

Lucy's Ghost; a Marine Ballad. By E. Rushton.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

The New Expositor for the use of Schools. Fourth Edition.

Pr. Forshaw.

An Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Water Account.

1800. R. Dodd's introductory report, with general estimate, on the proposed Bridge across the River Mersey, at Runcorn.

Appeal to the County of Lancaster on the present Scarcity. By F. Chalmers.

Liverpool Corporation Water Works. Deed of Incorporation.

1801. Thoughts on the observance of the Sabbath, and Private Prayer. By George Vanbrugh, LL.B., Rector of Aughton.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

The Mountain Robbers; or, the power of Obi-Horn. By G. Mall.

The Address of President Thomas Jefferson to his fellow-citizens.

Re-pr. Coddington and Co. for W. Jones.

The Christian Reconciler. By John Fernal, Miniature Painter.

Pr. H. Forshaw.

1802. A Regular Account of the Electioneering Paper War.

Liverpool Poll-book, Squibs, Songs, &c. (80 pages). Candidates: Tarlton, Gascoyne, Birch, Chalmers.

Pr. Ferguson, Mackay and Co.

An Elucidation of the Times. By B. Prescot.

Pr. J. Lang.

An Address, previous to the Opening of the Botanic Gardens. By W. Roscoe.

Pr. J. M'Creery.

Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving. An end to the late bloody War.

Pr. Forshaw.

Observations on a Bill, "The Liverpool Improvement Act."

Pr. W. Jones.

Poems. By William Colquitt, A.B.

Pr. W. C. Jones.

Catalogue of Paintings at Knowsley Hall.

1803. Agricultural Society of the Hundred of West Derby.

Pr. J. Gore and Son.

Form of Prayer, for our Arms by Sea and Land.

Pr. Forshaw.

Richardson's Shorthand. Third Edition, *vide* 1800.

A Remembrancer of the Pure and Primitive Church. By John Smith.

Pr. J. Gore and Son.

Plenty following Scarcity: Attributable (under Providence) to Parliament. By P. D. Parquot. Third Edition, 3s.

Pr. R. Ferguson, Whitechapel.

1803. A Defence of the Divine System of the World. By B. Prescot.
Pr. J. Lang.

Liverpool Testimonials to the departed genius of Robert Burns. Poems.
Pr. by Merritt and Wright.

Sketches taken during ten voyages to Africa. By Captain John Adams.
Pr. James Smith.

Systematic Exercises of the French Grammar. By Rev. J. B. A. Gerardot.
Pr. J. M'Creery.

On the National Defence. By Rev. Peter Bulmer.

The Liverpool Improvement and Dock Bills, with observations on their tendency and effects.

The Docks. An Address to the Merchants and Tradesmen of Liverpool. By an Inhabitant.

1804. A Reply to Jon. Banks' attack on the "Divine System." By B. Prescot.
Pr. J. Lang.

Rules and Orders of the Commissioners of Watch and Lamps, Liverpool.
Pr. M'Creery.

On the Dock Estates Accounts, &c. By Willis Earle.
Pr. W. Jones.

The Trial at large of Wm. Sparling, Esq., and S. M. Colquitt, Esq., R.N., on an indictment for the Murder of Edward Grayson, of Liverpool. A Sixth Edition the same year, enlarged.
Pr. W. Jones, Castle Street.

Proceedings of the General Court Martial in the Trial of A. G. Carmichael, Captain and Adjutant of Liverpool Fuzileers, on a Charge by Wm. Earle, Esq., Lieut.-Col. Commandant of that Regiment.
Pr. W. Jones.

Acts of Parliament respecting the Docks and Port of Liverpool. The first of which Acts (8th Anne) created the Dock Estate.
Reprinted by W. Jones, Castle Street.

Remarks on the Salt Trade.

Copy of a paper printed in *Monthly Magazine*, on the Manufacture and Quantity of Cheshire Salt.

1804. Considerations addressed to the Merchants of Liverpool, relating to the Election of Commissioners for inspecting the Accounts of the Dock and Light Dues.

Bill for enlarging the Queen's Dock.

1805. The Creation. Performed at Liverpool, September, 1805.
Pr. J. Gore.

Catalogue of the Brunswick Library, Rules, Subscribers.
Pr. J. Nuttall.

Twelve Letters by Detector, on the Customs, &c., at Liverpool.
Pr. W. Jones.

Holden's Liverpool Almanac, first commencement.

A Memoir of the Proceedings of the Society called Quakers. By William Rathbone. Price 2s. 6d.
Pr. J. M'Creery.

A Vindication of certain Passages in the Common Version of the New Testament. By Calvin Winstanley, A.M.
Pr. W. Jones.

An Introduction to the Latin Grammar, founded principally on the authority of Cicero. By C. Winstanley, A.M. Price 2s. 6d.
Pr. W. Jones.

Catholic Emancipation; an accurate Report of the Speeches delivered in both Houses of Parliament. Price 3s.
Pr. W. Jones.

Virtuous Remembrance; a Sermon, on the Death of Dr. Currie, at Paradise Street Chapel. By Rev. G. Walker.
Pr. Harris.

Account of two cases of Diabetes. By Dr. Bostock.

Address to the Governors of the Liverpool Dispensary. By Dr. Carson.

1806. A Catechism for Young Persons. By Philip Taylor.
Pr. J. Gore.

A Poem; the Whig Bargain for Places in the Administration.

Laws and Regulations of the Botanic Gardens.
Pr. G. F. Harris.

An Appendix to the Psalms used at Paradise Street and Benn's Garden Chapels.
Pr. J. Gore.

A Letter to the Bill holders of the house of Geo. Baillie and Co. By a Bill holder.
Pr. J. Lang.

1806. A Plan of Study for Roman Catholic Gentlemen at the University of Edinburgh. By Arthur Clifford, Esq.
Pr. T. Billinge.
The Addresses, Songs, Squibs, &c., Liverpool Election.
Pr. in Dublin.
The Proceedings at large, in an Action brought by Mr. Robert Carr against William Jones, for Libel. Published in Liverpool Chronicle.
Pr. W. Jones.
History of the Election—Roscoe, Gascoyne, Tarleton.
Pr. Jones and Wright.
An Address to the Merchants of Liverpool, on Election of Commissioners to inspect the Accounts of Dock Estate. By Willis Earle.
Pr. W. Jones.
Several Poll Books and Squib Books; Candidates—Tarleton, Gascoyne, Roscoe.

1807. Thoughts on the Justice, &c., of levying the Duties on Sugar by a rate according to value.
Poll Book and Squib Book; Candidates—Tarleton, Gascoyne, Roscoe, Denison.
Laws of the Lyceum, Liverpool, with the Indenture of Purchase.
A Collection of Addresses, Songs, Squibs, &c., during the Election.
Pr. John Herring, Isleman.
A Companion to the Liverpool Museum at the house of William Bullock, Church Street.
Pr. G. F. Harris.

1808. Blackheath, a Poem, with Designs. By Thomas Noble.
Catalogue of Plants, Botanic Gardens, Liverpool.
Pr. J. Smith.
A Letter to William Roscoe, Esq., containing strictures on his late publication. Price 2s. 6d.
Pr. T. Kaye.
The Angler's Manual, with 12 plates. By S. Howitt.
Pr. G. F. Harris.
A Companion to the Liverpool Museum at the house of William Bullock, Church Street. Sixth Edition.
Specification of a Patent granted to Willis Earle.
Liverpool; a Satire.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

1808. Remarks on a late Publication, about a late trial at Lancaster. By James Carson, M.D.

Substance of an Address intended to have been delivered at the sitting of the Borough Court. By C. Rowlinson.

Remarks on the proposals made to Great Britain for negociations for Peace in 1807. By William Roscoe, Esq.

Pr. M'Creery, London.

Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences of the present War. By William Roscoe, Esq. Price 2s. 6d.

Pr. M'Creery, London.

Agricultural Society of the Hundred of West Derby.

Pr. J. Gore.

A Vindication of the Opinions of the Medical Witnesses on a late Trial at Lancaster, *vide* 1809.

Pr. W. Jones.

Institution for Vaccine Inoculation.

Wolfenden's Liverpool Almanac. First number.

Observations addressed to Planters and others interested in the West India Trade. By Dr. Theoph. Reynolds.

Speech at the Liverpool Forum, in defence of Vaccine Inoculation. By A. Henderson.

1809. A Treatise on the Corn Trade and Agriculture. Plenty following Scarcity. By P. D. Parquot. Fourth Edition. Price 4s.

Pr. James Smith, Stanhope Press.

Interesting Letters addressed to John Bolton, Esq., of Liverpool, Merchant, Col. of a Regiment of Volunteers. By George Baillie, Esq.

Pr. in London.

Report of the Society for the Establisment of a Magdalen Asylum in Liverpool, with Extracts, &c.

Pr. James Smith.

Reflections on "A Vindication of the Opinions of the Medical Witnesses in a late Trial, at Lancaster." By Dr. Campbell. *Vide* 1808.

Pr. W. Jones.

Elements of Geography. By Jno. Bradley.

Pr. Lang.

An Exposure of Statements in Dr. Carson's Pamphlet, entitled "Remarks," &c., *vide* 1808. By James Dawson, Surgeon.

Pr. W. Jones.

1809. Advice to Young Women going into Service.
Pr. Harris.
Liverpool Loyal Declaration.
Pr. T. Kaye.
Parr *v.* Benson. Crim. Con.

1810. Selection of Sacred Music to be performed in St. Ann's Church.
Pr. Egerton Smith and Co.
Sermon; Re-opening of St. Mark's Church. By Rev. Richard Blacow.
Prayers, Psalms and Hymns, used by the Children at the Blue Coat Hospital.
Pr. J. Gore.
Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P., on Parliamentary Reform. By William Roscoe, Esq., Allerton.
A Catechism for the use of the Sunday Schools.
Pr. H. Forshaw.
Letters on Religious Subjects to Mr. J. Stewart. By D. S. Wylie.
A Funeral Discourse on the Death of Dr. Barnes. By John Yates.
Pr. G. F. Harris Brothers.
Thoughts on the present state of the Fine Arts, Founding the Liverpool Academy, &c.
Remarks on the Nomenclature of the New Pharmacopœia. By James Bostock, M.D.
Pr. James Smith.
Brief Observations on the Address to His Majesty proposed by Earl Grey. By William Roscoe, Esq.
Pr. M. Galway and Co.
The Charter granted to the Burgesses of Liverpool by William III, and the Charter of George II.
Pr. Smith and Co.
Political Pamphlets. By Gen. Sir B. Tarleton.
Statement of the grounds upon which the Dock Trustees propose to provide additional Dock space.
Mercator's Address on a New Dock Bill.
Trial of several parties for Conspiracy and Riot at the Theatre Royal.

1811. A Catechism, with Prayers and Hymns, for the use of Children.
Pr. J. Gore.
The Times, a Satiric Poem. By Thomas Taylor.
Pr. W. Bethell.

1811. A Letter to J. T. Koster, Esq., in which his arguments to demonstrate that Bank of England Notes are not depreciated are refuted. Price 2s. 6d.

Pr. Harris Brothers.

Commercial and Political Observations on the state of the Cotton Market. Illustrative map. By C. G. Marwade.

Pr. J. Lang.

Liverpool Dock Laws. Extracts from Acts of Parliament.

Pr. Harris Brothers, Houghton Street.

Statement of the Trade in Gold Bullion. By John Theodore Koster. Second Edition. Price 3s. 6d.

Pr. Harris Brothers.

Proceedings in Court of King's Bench, the King *v.* Rev. Richard Blacow.

Funeral Discourse, on the Death of Rev. T. Spencer, Newington Chapel. By W. Roby.

First Report of the Society for bettering the condition of the Poor in Town and Neighbourhood of Liverpool. Appendix 1, 2, 3.

Pr. T. Kaye.

First Annual Report, Female Penitentiary.

A Discourse delivered on the opening of Renshaw Street Chapel. By John Grundy.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

On Farm Leases in the Hundred of West Derby.

Pr. J. Gore.

Report of the Trial of Dr. Sheridan, one of the alleged Catholic Delegates.

Pr. W. Bethell.

Memoir of Capt. Paul Cuffie, a man of colour.

Pr. Egerton Smith and Co.

Resolutions of the Methodist Ministers of the Manchester District, assembled at Liverpool.

Pr. T. Kaye.

A Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P., on the subject of Reform. By William Roscoe, Esq.

Pr. M. Galway and Co.

Hints to the Protestant Dissenters on the rejection of the Bill for regulating the Licenses granted to Protestant Dissenting Ministers. By a Dissenter.

Pr. J. Lang.

1811. Manual of Hymns intended for the Domestic Circle.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Remarks and Reflections on the intended Liverpool Dock Bill. By Mercator.

Liverpool Dock Laws.

An Essay on the History and Practice of Electricity. By John Bywater.

Sundry Letters by Willis Earle and Matthew Gregson.

Sermon Preached at York. By Rev. J. Vanse.
Pr. Harris.

1812. An Essay on the Necessity and Utility of adhering to the First Principles of Religion. By R. Wright. Price 6d.
Pr. Egerton Smith and Co.

First Report Liverpool Auxiliary Bible Society, Established March 25, 1811.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Poetic Tales and Miscellanies.
Pr. J. Smith.

The Laws and Regulations of the Union Rooms, Duke Street.

Rules and Resolutions of the Liverpool, Portugal and Brazil Association.
Pr. G. F. Harris's Widow and Brothers.

An impartial Collection of Election Addresses, Songs, Squibs, &c.
Pr. Herring, Isleman.

Liverpool Poll Book, with a Preface. 64 pages.
Pr. Wright and Cruickshank. Others by Kaye and Gore.

Liverpool Poll Book—Canning, Gascoyne, Brougham, Creevey, and Tarleton,—9 days,—2,726 freemen.
Pr. J. Gore.

An Address to the Rev. R. Blacow. By W. Bethell,
Pr. W. Bethell, Marshall Street.

A Letter to Messrs. Hughes and Duncan, of Liverpool, Merchants. By R. F. Breed.

The Speeches and Public Addresses of the Right Hon. George Canning, during late Election, with a Summary and Appendix.
Pr. T. Kaye.

A Speech delivered by John Gladstone, Esq., from the box-seat of a carriage in the centre of Castle Street, on Canning's public entry.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1812. A Review of the Speeches of the Right Hon. George Canning. By William Roscoe.

Pr. Egerton Smith and Co.

Letter to Roscoe on Reform. By John Merritt.

An Answer to a Letter from Mr. John Merritt, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. By William Roscoe.

Pr. M. Galway and Co.

An Inquiry into the Laws of Animal Life. By J. R. Park.

An Account of the Charity Ball, held Dec. 31, at the Town Hall

Free Trade to India, by a Member of Parliament.

1813. The Hackney Coach Fares and Regulations.

Pr. J. Gore.

Leitura instructiva e Recreativa on Ideas Sentimentaes.

Pr. J. Lang.

The Trial of Tobias Toole and others, for robbing Robert Chambers, on the King's highway, in the Township of Everton, near Liverpool.

Pr. at Lancaster.

Various Trials for Murder.

Pr. W. Bethell.

Brougham's Speeches, Liverpool Election, 1812.

Pr. Egerton Smith and Co.

Liverpool Musical Festival.

Pr. T. Kaye.

The Charity Ball, held Dec. 31.

Report of the Committee for superintending the Erection of the Monument to the Memory of Lord Nelson, in area of Liverpool Exchange.

Pr. Harris's Widow.

A Letter to William King, LL.D., by Richard Blacow, A.M., with a Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, &c. Price 1s. 6d.

Pr. James Smith, Tithebarn Street.

Virtue Rewarded, a Russian Story. 6d.

Pr. Gegory and Taylor.

A Narrative of the Origin and Proceedings of the Independent Debating Society, in Liverpool. By John Wright, President. Price 1s. 6d.

Pr. F. B. Wright.

Letter on the nature and extent of the Papal Authority. By the Rev. Edward Slater.

Pr. T. Kaye.

1813. Methodism Displayed and Enthusiasm Deducted. By a Member of the Church of England.
Pr. H. Forshaw.

An Essay on the Miraculous Conception of Jesus Christ. By R. Wright. Price 8d.
Pr. T. B. Wright.

An Essay on Light and Vision. By John Bywater.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Letters to Earl Clancarty, President Board of Trade, on the inexpediency of importing Cotton Wool during the war. By John Gladstone, of Liverpool.

Parliamentary Evidence,—General Tarleton against the return of Canning and Gascoyne.

1814. Proofs of the Necessity of the Repeal of the Statute of Apprentices.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving. An end to the War with France and her Allies.
Pr. Forshaw.

Prayers, Psalms, and Hymns used by the Children at the Blue Coat Hospital.
Pr. J. Gore.

Thirty-second Report and History of the Blue Coat Hospital.
Pr. J. Gore.

A Letter to Matthew Gregson, Esq. By the Rev. Richard Blacow, B.A.
Pr. M. Galway and Co.

Poems. By Ellen Robinson.
Pr. G. Wood.

Speeches by George Canning at Public Dinner in Liverpool.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Liverpool Dock Duties on Ships.
Pr. J. Gore.

The Charge of Judge Fletcher to the Grand Jury of the County of Wexford.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

In Defence of the Jewish Religion. By Jacob Nickelsburger.
Pr. D. Dean, Williamson Square.

An Address to all who are assessed to the Poor's Rate in Liverpool.
Pr. G. F. Harris's Widow.

1814. Sketch of the Life of George Canning, M.P., including an account of his early writings and maiden speech.
Pr. W. Bethell.

Mercator's Second Address, respecting the Liverpool Poor Bill.
Pr. J. Smith.

Mercator's Address to the Parishioners, respecting the Liverpool Poor Bill, Church Bill, Paving Bill, and the Wallasey Sea Embankment Bill.

1815. A Short Account of the Seige of Flushing. A Panorama now exhibiting in Cook Street.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

A Complete and Comprehensive Exercise Book. For the use of the Liverpool Volunteers. Fourth Edition, 1s.
Pr. M'Creery.

A Christmas Box, for good Boys and Girls. Hymns.
Pr. J. Gore.

The Claims of Misery. A Sermon. Marble Street Hall. 6d.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Every Man his own Parson. A Dialogue. Scene—Mount Pleasant. 3d.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Observations on Paper Currency. By George Booth, Merchant. 2s.
Pr. J. Lang.

Observations on Lowering the Rent of Land; and on the Corn Laws. By George Booth. 2s.
Pr. J. Lang.

An Address to the Clergy.
Pr. W. Bethell.

A Sermon. St. Mark's. Christmas Day. By R. Blacow, M.A.
Pr. Gregory and Taylor.

A Letter to William Roscoe, Esq., occasioned by his letter to Brougham, on Parliamentary Reform. By John Merritt.
Pr. Wright and Cruickshank.

A System of Book-keeping for the use of Provident Institutions; or, Savings Banks. By George Booth, Merchant.
Pr. Wright and Cruickshank.

The Liverpool Provident Institution. Established 1815.

Reflections upon continuing the Property Tax. By John Party, Esq.
Pr. Wright and Cruickshank.

1815. A Sermon, Marble Street Hall, for the Distressed Seamen. The Claims of Misery; or, Benevolence its own Reward. By John Wright.

Collection of Psalms and Hymns, from Merrick's new translation.
Pr. J. Gore.

First Annual Report of Liverpool Religious Tract Society.
Pr. H. Geenough.

Laws and Regulations of the Literary and Philosophical Society, of Liverpool, established 1812. 4to.
Pr. Harris's Widow.

Copy of a Bill for making a more equal County Rate for County Palatine of Lancaster.
Pr. Harris and Co.

A Guide to Health. By Dr. Solomon, Gilead House.
Pr. J. Speed, West Derby.

The Accounts of the Corporation of Liverpool, with their Treasurer, from 1797 to 1814.
Pr. E. Smith.

On the Distresses of the Country. By John Ashton Yates.

Companion to Mumford's Liverpool Exhibition.

Observations on lowering the Rent of Land, and on the Corn Laws and their effects on the Manufacturing Interest. By George Booth.

Letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, on the Present Crisis. By Ulysses.

1816. Hypocrisy Unmasked; or a Faithful Portrait from the Life of Weatherspoon Plausible! *alias* Egerton Smith.
Pr. J. B. Johnson.

The Messiah, performed at the opening of St. Philip's Church, Hardman Street, September 25th. 6d.
Pr. Wright and Cruickshank.

Selections from the Creation, and two Miscellaneous Acts, September 27.

A Letter to Nicholas Vansittart, on the Customs. By a Merchant. Adam Hodgson?
Pr. J. and J. Smith.

Speeches and Public Addresses of George Canning, during Election.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1816. A Letter to John Whitley, Esq. By Richard Blacow, M.A. 1s.
Pr. J. and J. Smith.

Poll Book,—Canning and Leyland.
Pr. J. Gore.

The Candidate, a Poem; dedicated to Canning.

Songs, Addresses, Squibs, &c., during Election of Canning and Leyland.
Pr. W. Bethell.

Squib Book, Liptrot.

A Letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, upon the "Revulsion of Trade."
Pr. J. and J. Smith.

A Reply to an Extract of a Sermon, preached in St. Mark's Church.
Pr. T. Roberts.

The New Year, an Essay.
Pr. and Pub. by T. Kaye.

The Fatal Effects of Religious Intolerance; a Sermon. By Rev. W. Shepherd, Gateacre Chapel.
Pr. Smith and Galway.

Physical Astronomy; or the System of Nature Delineated, in a Letter to the Royal Society of London, with notes.
Pr. Smith and Galway.

Letter to Vansittart on a Repeal of the Salt Duty.

An Interest Table, 5 per cent. By J. Newton, Accountant. Liverpool.

Remarks on Mr. Joseph Dutton's Address on Parish Economy. By Mercator.

1817. The Original Liverpool Almanack and Tide Table.
Pr. J. Lang.

The A, B, C, with the Catechism.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Museum Etruria; or Catalogue of Cameos, Vases, &c. By the late Josiah Wedgewood, for James Boardman. Plates.
Pr. G. F. Harris's Widow.

A Letter Addressed to Mr. Raffles, and Speeches, Liverpool Debate Room. By John Wright. 1s. 6d.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Three Discourses, on Right and Reason in Matters of Religion, Long Room, Marble Street. By John Wright.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

1817. A Sermon. Marble Street. By John Wright. For which a prosecution is commenced on a charge of Blasphemy. 1s.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Messiah. By Liverpool Choral Society.
Pr. Forshaw.

Liverpool Musical Festival. October 10. 6d.
Pr. Smith and Galway.

Remarks on Cotton, &c. By John Slack, Broker and Accountant. Price 3s.
Pr. J. Lang.

A View of the Principal Courts in the Isle of Man.
Pr. Harris and Co.

A Letter to Robert Townley Parker, Esq., High Sheriff, from Peter Crompton, M.D., with appendix. 1s.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

First Annual Report of Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Letter of Earl William Russell to his friend Lord Cavendish. By George Canning, Esq., to his son the Right Hon. George Canning. Poetical effusion.

Hints to Credulity! The Pretensions of Miss M. M'Avoy. By Joseph Sandars.
Pr. Smith.

Birkenhead Priory; a Poem. By S. Nadan Thomson.
Pr. J. Smith.

First Report of the Committee of the Liverpool Institution. Folio.
Pr. Harris and Co.

New and correct Chart of the Liverpool and Chester Rivers. By Lieut. Thomas Evans, R.N. Second edition.
Pr. Smith and Galway.

A Discourse on the Origin and Vicissitudes of Literature, Science and Art, at the opening of the Royal Institution. By Wm. Roscoe.

An attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture. By Thomas Rickman.
Pr. J. Smith.

The British Mariner's Assistant. By Thomas Evans, R.N.
Pr. Smith and Galway.

The Grace of God exemplified in the Death of Miss A. Nixon.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1817. A Letter on the Distresses of the Country, to the Duke of Kent. By John Ashton Yates. Second edition.
Pr. J. and J. Smith.

Harrington School Hymns. By John Yates.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Remarks on a Letter to the Duke of Kent, on Manufactures, Commerce, and Finance.

1818. A Defence of the Church Missionary Society. By Daniel Wilson, M.A.
Pr. T. Kaye.

The effects of Ignorance on the Character and Conduct of Man. A Sermon. By H. Weedall. 1s.
Pr. W. Grapel.

Liverpool Poll Book—Canning, Gascoyne, Lord Sefton. (69 pages.)
Pr. J. Gore.

Squib Book.
Bethell.

Daily Speeches during the six days Poll.
Pr. T. Kaye.

The Still Voice of Peace. By Ephraim Wood.
Pr. Johnson.

Letter to Mr. Canning on his late Speech at Liverpool.

The Soul and the Resurrection considered. A Sermon.
Pr. J. Lang.

Remarks on J. Sanders' "Hints to Credulity," on the subject of Miss M'Avoy's blindness. By Scrutator.
Pr. J. G. Billinge.

The History and Antiquities of Nantwich. By W. J. Platt.
Pr. Forshaw.

Letters addressed to the Jews, in reply to J. N., a Jew. By Edward Redmond.
Pr. Smith and Galway.

Question of the Poor Laws considered. By Henry Booth.

Proceedings on the affairs of Mr. John Denison, Churchwarden.

Hargreaves of Liverpool: Catalogue of MSS., formerly in his possession.

1819. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Church for the Blind. By George Henry Law, Bishop of Chester.
Pr. G. Cruickshank.

1819. Unitarian Psalms and Hymns.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Grand Miscellaneous Concert, Music Hall.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Catalogue of Pictures collected by William Roscoe, in Royal Institution.

The Faith of Israel: a Discourse. By Rabbi Tobias Goodman.
Pr. G. F. Harris and Co.

The Deity of Jesus Christ. By R. Wright, Unitarian Missionary.

An Essay on Election and Reprobation. By R. Wright.

Thoughts on Social Prayer. By R. Wright.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

The Catholic Chapels and Chaplains, with the number of their Congregations in the County of Lancaster.
Pr. Taylor and Willmer.

A Brief Historical and Descriptive account of Sefton Church. By Thomas Ashcroft, Esq., of Lydiate.

Arguments, &c., of Individual Circulating Credit, &c. By B. A. Heywood, Esq. Also observations on the Circulating of Individual Credit.
Pr. Harris and Co.

Zhthmata Δianohtika; or a view of the Intellectual Powers of Man. By Thomas Martin, Allerton. Second edition, 1821.
Pr. Harris's Widow.

Sermon. Duty of Obedience to Civil Governors. By Rev. Edward Hull, Church for the Blind.
Pr. Cruickshank.

Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America. By William Tell Harris.
Pr. H. Fisher.

Literature Francaise. Par J. Marconi. Tome 1 and 2.
Pr. Taylor and Willmer.

Memoirs of the Life of Miss Car. Eliz. Smelt.
Pr. R. Tilling.

Elements of Geography and Chronology.
Pr. Harris and Co.

Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By Rev. Edward Hull.
Sold by Cruickshank.

A new and improved way of constructing Wheel Carriages. By J. T. Koster.

1819. Letter to E. Booth Wilbraham, Esq., on the Charge to the Grand Jury.

Physiological Fragments. By J. Bywater.

Observations on Payments and Receipts in Bank of England Notes, reduced to their value in Gold. By T. Martin.

Sermon on Future Punishment. By Rev. J. Jones, B.A., St. Andrew's.

1820. A Catalogue of Books in Library of Friends, Hunter Street.
Pr. J. and J. Smith.

A Supplement to Ditto.
Pr. Bentham and Co.

Sermon, on the interment of our late revered Monarch; St. Paul's, Liverpool. By Rev. J. B. Monk.
Pr. Cruickshank.

The Speeches of the Right Hon. George Canning during the Election.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Sermon, on the King's Death. By Rev. William Hesketh, St. Michael's, Toxteth.
Pr. Johnson.

Speeches of Rev. E. Bickersteth, J. W. Cunningham, &c., in aid of Church Missionary Society.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Poll Book for Members of Parliament—Canning, Gascoyne, Crompton, Leyland.
Pr. J. Gore.

Liverpool Election Squib Book, illustrated, 64 pages.
Pr. W. Bethell.

Liverpool Election Squib Book.
Pr. Taylor.

A Letter to Rev. G. Harris, on his Lecture to prove the Non-existence of the Devil. By Rev. James Barr, D.D.
Pr. R. Tilling.

The Duty of Children to their Parents. By R. Wright. Third edition.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Two Sermons on the Death of George the III. By Rev. R. P. Buddicom.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Sermon on the Death of the Duke of Kent. By R. Philips.

1820. Sacred Music performed at the Church, Great Neston.
Pr. Robinson.

Discourse on the aspect of the Times. By Rev. R. Blacow, M.A.
Pr. Johnson.

The Trial of William Park, of Preston.
Pr. Smith and Melling.

Index of Hymns for Festivals of Church of England.
Pr. G. Wood.

The excellence of the Authorised Version of the Sacred Scriptures: a Sermon, Gloster Street Chapel. By James Lister.
Pr. J. Lang.

A Letter to Rev. James Lister, in reply to the preceding Sermon.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

A Letter to Rev. James Lister, in reply to his Lecture on the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures.
Pr. J. Santley.

1821. C. Grayson's Statement of Facts relative to himself and the Shipwrights.

Extractos de Correspondencia relativa a varios melhoramentos nos Dominios Portuguezes.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

A Letter to the Inhabitants of Filiskirk. By Capt. T. Thrush, R.N.
Pr. F. B. Wright, for Unitarian Tract Society.

Relatorio sobre as minas de Carvas de Santa Insta e Figueira em Portugal.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Programmes of Concerts in the Music Hall, Bold Street.

Observacoens apprezentadas em Junho, de 1820, sobre Alguno Melhoramentos applicaveis a Portugal.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Sermon for the Infirmary. By J. J. Hornby.

Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Poor Laws.
Pr. G. Cruickshank.

Childhood: a Poem. By Rev. E. T. S. Hornby.

A Letter to Thomas Kaye on Methodistical Loyalty. By R. Blacow, M.A.
Pr. Johnson.

A Letter to Rev. George Harris, Unitarian Minister.
Pr. W. Forshaw.

1821. Poem. Illustrated. To the Memory of a beloved Son. By Ellen Robinson.
Pr. Tilling.

First Report Liverpool Church Missionary Society.

Two Sermons on the dangerous consequences of Catholic Emancipation. By Richard Blacow, M.A., St. Mark's.

List of Communications laid before the Literary and Philosophical Society since its commencement in 1812.

Elementary Book-keeping by Single Entry. By John Dunn.
Pr. Nevetts.

Observations on the Deviation of the Compass. By John Bywater.

Poll Book for Election of Mayor, between R. Bullin and W. Mollyneux.

1822. An Address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland on Lotteries, to Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., by a Free-born Briton.
Pr. Rushton and Melling.

Nevett's Domestic Account Book.

Sermon on the Distressed Peasantry of Ireland. By Rev. R. P. Buddicom, M.A.
Pr. G. F. Harris's Widow.

Selection of Sacred Music to be performed in St. John's Church.
Pr. J. Gore.

Liverpool Dock Laws, &c.
Pr. J. Gore.

The Rights of the English Clergy. By Rev. Augustus Campbell.
Pr. G. F. Harris and Co.

Letters addressed to William Wilberforce, M.P. By James Cropper.
Pr. James Smith.

Resolutions, Reports, and Bye-Laws of the Liverpool Royal Institution, from March, 1814, to March, 1822.

Address by B. A. Heywood, Esq.
Pr. Harris's Widow.

The Defence of the Rev. Richard Blacow, addressed to the Jury at Lancaster, September 21, 1821. Libel against the Queen, with the Sermon.

Catalogue of the first Exhibition of the Academy of the Liverpool Royal Institution.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1822. An Enquiry respecting the Original Copies and Ancient Versions of the New Testament, &c.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Sermon: the Change of Death. On the death of Mr. Samuel Reid, at the Octagon Chapel. By Pendlebury Houghton.

Thoughts on True and False Religion. By Andrew Norton.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Physiological and Practical Essays. By Dr. Carson.

Letter to Thomas Leyland, Esq., on the system of Licensing Public Houses, as practised in Liverpool.

Letters in Vindication of the Rights of the West India Colonies, in answer to Mr. J. Cropper's Letters to W. Wilberforce, Esq.

Memoir of Richard Robert Jones, of Aberdaron, a remarkable instance of Intellect.
Pr. M'Creery.

1823. Testimonials of Rev. James Fisher, M.A.
Pr. W. Bethell.

A Sermon. By Rev. James Barr, D.D., on the occasion of his removal from Liverpool.
Pr. W. Grapel.

Appeal in behalf of the Church of England. By Rev. A. Campbell.
Pr. Harris and Co.

An Address in favour of the School for the Blind in Liverpool. Instituted 1791.
Pr. Harris's Widow.

Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings by living Artists, exhibited at the Lyceum, Bold Street.
Pr. Rushton and Melling.

The Importance of Family Religion: a Sermon. By Rev. W. Hesketh.
Pr. Harris and Co.

Liverpool Musical Festival, October 1st, 2nd, 3rd.
Pr. Harris and Co.

A New Method of Working Lunar Observations. By W. Marrat.
Pr. Bywater and Co., Pool Lane.

Catalogue, Origin and Laws, of the Liverpool Medical Library, Shaw's Brow.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Relief for West Indian Distress. By James Cropper.
Pr. London.

1823. Negro Slavery in the Colonies of the West Indies.
Pub. Grapel.

A Letter to M. Jean-Baptiste Say, on Free and Slave Labour. By Adam Hodgson.
Pr. J. Smith.

Hints to Unitarians.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Sebastian: a Tragedy. By Henry Booth, jun.

Author of Lunar Tables. William Marratt.

1824. Don Juan, Canto XVII.
Pr. Perry and Metcalf.

Certificates in favour of Andrew Wilson, A.M.
Pr. G. Smith.

Correspondence of Committee of Management with Rev. David Thom.
Pr. G. Smith.

The Constitution of St. Andrew's Church, Rodney Street.
Pr. J. Cruickshank.

Examination of Passages of Scripture supposed to prove the Deity of Jesus Christ. By W. E. Channing.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

A Sermon preached in Warrington for the benefit of Clergymen's Widows and Orphans. By Rev. Augustus Campbell.
Pr. Harris and Co.

The Fishermen and the Gooseherd.
Pr. T. Kaye.

The Society of Guardians, Rules. Established February, 1823.
Pr. J. Nevett and Co.

The True and Wonderful History of Dick Liver. By Timothy Touchstone. (Rev. W. Shepherd.)
Pr. Rushton and Melling.

A Letter on the Projected Rail Road between Liverpool and Manchester.
Pr. W. Wales and Co.

Report to the Dock Rate Payers of Liverpool.
Pr. G. Smith.

An account of the Liverpool Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library.
Pr. Rushton and Melling.

Substitutes for Religion.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

1824. Addresses delivered at the Meetings of the Proprietors of Liverpool Royal Institution. By B. A. Heywood, Esq., President.
Pr. Harris and Co.

Negro Emancipation. By John Taylor.
Pr. Rockliff.

First Report of the Liverpool Charitable Society.
Pr. Hodgson.

Physiological Fragments. By John Bywater.
Pr. Rushton and Melling.

Three Sermons, in Paradise Street Chapel. By J. Grundy.
Pr. Wales and Co.

The Reciprocal Duties of Ministers and Congregations.

Lectures on Quarantine, delivered in Liverpool. By C. Macleane

On the Poor Laws. By Henry Booth, Jun.

Pleasures of Piety: A Poem. By Eleanor Dickenson.

An Appeal to the Laity and Clergy of Liverpool, and a Sermon on Family Religion. By Rev. Wm. Hesketh.

On Colonial Slavery. By John Ashton Yates.

Historical Reference to the three capital offences of the Church of Rome. By Rusticus.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to inspect, audit, and adjust the accounts of the Dock Estate.

The support of Slavery investigated. By James Cropper.

Letter to the Liverpool Society for the Abolition of Slavery. By J. Sandars.

Colonial Slavery. Letters to the Rt. Hon. W. Huskisson, on the present condition of the Slaves. By J. A. Yates.

Notes taken during an Excursion in Scotland, in the year 1820. By James Smith.
Pr. at the Lithographic Press.

1825. An Expostulatory Letter to Rev. David Thom.
Pr. W. Forshaw.

Memorial by Rev. David Thom. Theological Points.
Pr. Glasgow.

Remarks by Rev. David Thom.
Pr. R. Rockliff.

Many minor pamphlets about Dr. Thom and the Rodney Street Church.

An Essay on the Education of the People. By James Scott Walker.
Pr. Rushton and Melling.

1825. Description of the View of Naples. Rotunda, Great Charlotte Street.

Appendix of Additions and Alterations, since published of 1st vol. of The History, Directory and Gazetteer of Lancashire.
Pr. Wales and Co.

Liverpool Choral Society, St. Ann's Church, 32nd and 33rd Quarterly performance of Sacred Music.

Present State of Ireland. By James Cropper.
Pr. G. Smith.

Liverpool Mechanics' School of Arts. Address by Dr. Traill.

Letter to Ferdinand of Bourbon, King of Spain.
Pr. R. Rockliff.

A Visitation Sermon, before the Bishop of Chester. By Rector Campbell.
Pr. Harris and Co.

Observations; Battle of Stoke Field. By Richard Brooke, Jun.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Observations on Penal Jurisprudence and the Reformation of Criminals, part 3. By William Roscoe, Esq.
Pr. M'Creery.

An Act for the better regulation of Buildings in the Town of Liverpool.

Plan of the proposed alterations and additions to Docks and Basins in the Port and Town, with a Bill and Act for ditto.

Report on Railroads. By Charles Sylvester.

1826. A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. John Yates. By Rev. Dr. William Shepherd.
Pr. E. Willmer.

An Essay on the Existence of the Devil, and his supposed influence on the human mind. By Richard Wright.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Sermon. St. Mary's Church, Edmund Street. By the Rev. F. Fairclough.
Pr. R. Rockliff.

Liverpool Choral Society, St. Ann's Church. 36th performance, Quarterly.

A Trip to the Chain Bridge near Bangor.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

A Pastoral Address, by Rev. Andrew Wilson, M.A.
Pr. A. Picken and Son.

1826. Proceedings on the Execution of the Writ of *Ad quod damnum*, relating to an Embankment at Tranmere Bay. Folio.
Pr. J. Gore and Son.

Letter to the Trustees of the Liverpool Infirmary. By Thomas Renwick, Islington.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Freemen of Liverpool. List of Broad Cloth.
Pr. Cruickshank.

List of Young Men passed as Freemen, in 1826.
Pr. T. Kaye.

An Act for making a Railway or Tramway, from Liverpool to Manchester, May 5th.

A Bill for widening and improving certain streets.

1827. Liverpool Choral Society, All Saints' Church. 40th, 41st, 42nd Quarterly Performances.

Sermon, Renshaw Street Chapel, by Rev. William Hincks, on taking leave of them.
Pr. Wales and Co.

Liverpool Grand Musical Festival, at the New Amphitheatre, October, Tuesday evening and Thursday morning.

A History of the Liverpool Musical Festival and Fancy Ball, October 1st to 5th. Engravings.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Conspiracy and Abduction. Trial of the Wakefields to effect the Abduction of Miss Turner.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Poll-book for the Election of Mayor, between T. C. Porter and N. Robinson, with an account of the Contest, &c.

A Sermon: The Seaman's Appeal. By R. P. Buddicom.
Pr. T. Kaye.

First Report of the Liverpool Mariners' Church Society. Instituted April 26th, 1826.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Instructions for Dock Masters, Abstract of Laws, &c.
Pr. T. Kaye.

A Sermon, on Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By Rev. Edward Hull.
Pr. Cruickshank.

Essays on Currency and Absenteeism, &c. By Henry Gardiner.
Pr. G. Bradley, Windsor.

1827. The Mental Astronomer. By R. Machan.
Pr. Marples.

The Necessity of Government and of Laws to govern by considered, &c. By Rev. J. Gate, Bidston.
Pr. Worrall and Co.

County Rates, Report and Appendix.

The Maritime Policy of Great Britain; or, an Inquiry into the late and present Navigation System. By Thomas Hare.

On Currency and Circulation. By J. A. Yates.

On the Reduction of the Rate of Discount by the Bank of England. 2nd Edition. By H. Gardiner.

1828. Liverpool Choral Society, Quarterly Performances, All Saints' Church.

Short Catechism of Lord's Prayer, for the use of Children.
Pr. Wales and Co.

Report of the Committee of the Liverpool East India Association.
Pr. G. Smith.

An Account of the Liverpool Races. By John Formby.
Pr. Johnson.

The Equity and Necessity of Equalizing Parochial Assessments.
Pr. T. Kaye.

An Address to the Benevolent Founders of the Chapel for the Blind.
Pr. Rockliff and Duckworth.

First Report of the Liverpool Charitable Repository.
Pr. T. Kaye.

First Report of School for the Deaf and Dumb.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Address, Royal Institution. By Dr. Traill.
Pr. Harris and Co.

A Letter on Infant Baptism. By a Father.
Pr. G. Smith, Tithebarn Street.

Elements of Astronomy. By W. Jevons, Jun.
Pr. Rockliff and Co.

Selections from the New Testament. By F. B. Wright.

An Attempt to investigate the Causes of the late extraordinary Changes in the Bed of the River Mersey. By Thos. Jevons.

Recent Correspondence, occasioned by a second interference with Dr. Thom.

Observations on the Arts. By T. Winstanley.

1829. Hymns for Wavertree Church. 2nd Edition, 1839.

First Report, with Catalogue, of the Committee of the Liverpool Law Society. Established November, 1827.

Facts and Statements shewing the evils of Sweeping Chimneys by Children, &c.

Pr. D. Marples.

A Guide to Bangor, Beaumaris and Snowdonia, with a Map. By John Smith.

Pr. E. and J. Smith.

An Address to the Captains of Merchant Vessels. By Rev. W. Scoresby, F.R.S.

Pr. T. Kaye.

A Letter to Rev. E. Stanley, in reply to his Address in favour of Roman Catholics.

Pr. T. Kaye.

Liverpool Festival Choral Society, first public performance at Music Hall, Bold Street.

Pr. J. Gore and Son.

A view of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonization of India.

Pr. Egerton and J. Smith.

Proceedings of the Public Meeting on the India and China Trade, held in the Sessions House.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Report of the Buckingham Lectures on the Eastern World.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

The remarkable Adventures of Reuben Rambler, Gent., near the Theatre Royal, Liverpool.

Pr. S. H. Sankey.

Report on the Comparative Merits of Loco-motive and Fixed Engines, as a moving power. By J. Walker and J. Rastrick, Esqrs., C.E.

Pr. Wales and Baines.

Chart to Liverpool and Chester Rivers. By Lieut. T. Evans, R.N. 6th Edition.

Pr. Melling and Co.

Address, Royal Institution. By Dr. Traill.

Catalogue of the Mineralogical Collection in Museum of Royal Institution.

Pr. Harris Brothers.

1829. The Servants' Companion.
Pr. G. Wood.

Outlines of the Ægina Marbles, drawn from the Statues at the Liverpool Royal Institution. Large paper. By Edwin Lyon.
Pr. G. Smith.

An Apology for the United States of America.

1830. The History of the House of Stanley.
Pr. Beddowes.

A Guide to Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Map.
Pr. Rockliffe.

A Key to Reading, &c. By John Smith.
Pr. J. and J. Smith.

An Accurate Description of Liverpool and Manchester Railway, the Tunnel, the Bridges &c. By Jas. Scott Walker. Plan. 3rd Edition.
Pr. J. F. Cannell.

Report of Directors of Liverpool Mechanics' School of Arts, with an Address. By Samuel Hope Esq.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

The Historical Memoir of his late Majesty George IV.
Pr. Rockliff.

Letter to shew how far the Telegraph at Liverpool is the Invention of Lieut. Morrison, R.N.
Pr. Rockliff and Duckworth.

Poll Book. Ewart and Dennison.
Pr. Gore and Son.

The Squib Book. Ewart and Dennison.
Pr. E. Metcalfe.

Sermon. Provident District Society now forming. By Rev. James Aspinall, M.A.
Pr. Cruickshank.

Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway &c. By Henry Booth. Plates. 2nd Edition, 1831.
Pr. Wales and Baines.

Address, Liverpool Royal Institution. By Thomas Langton Esq.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

First Annual Report of Liverpool District Provident Society.
Pr. E. Shaw.

A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of Mr. Huskisson. By Sam. Saunders, Byrom Street Chapel.

1830. Liverpool, a Poem. By Jas. Grocott, Jun.
Pr. Sankey.
Lessons on Arithmetic. By Thos. Smith.
Pr. Melling and Co.
List of Freemen, Election of T. C. Porter for Mayor, in 1827.
Pr. Gore.
Report of a Discussion on the Claims of the Church of Rome to the Marks of the True Church, held in the Music Hall.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.
Account of Experiments on Voltaic Electricity applied to working in Metals. By Thos. Spencer.
Reform without Revolution; or Thoughts on the present state of the Country. By Camillus.
Pr. T. Kaye.
A Statement of Facts connected with Slavery in the Colonies and America &c. By John Gladstone Esq.
Pr. T. Kaye.
Pastoral Thoughts on the Aspect of the Times, in four Sermons, preached at St. George's, Everton. By Rev. R. P. Buddicom.
Remarks on Palmyra. By B. Prescot.
Particulars of the Liverpool Musical Festival and Fancy Dress Ball, October 4th to 8th.
An Examination of the Corn Returns from 1826 to 1829.
A Practical Logical Essay on the Syntax of the English Language. By Samuel Alexander.

1831. The Recollections of Jotham Anderson. 3rd Liverpool Edition.
Pr. Wright.
Address, Royal Institution. By Chas. Turner Esq., A.M.
Pr. Harris and Co.
The Art of making Fireworks.
Pr. Willmer and Co.
Sermon. The Crisis. St. Luke's. By the Rev. Jas. Aspinall.
Pr. Cruickshank.
Letter to Lord Morpeth, M.P., on Religious Reform.
Pr. Wales and Baines.
Sermon. Sorrow on the Sea. On Loss of the *Rothsay Castle*. By Rev. Wm. Scoresby.
Pr. Marples.
Il Patrie e la Figlia a Ossia Agnese.
Pr. Ross and Nightingale.
Cinderella. Music by Rossini. Theatre Royal.

1831. Freemen of Liverpool. List of Broad Cloth, July, 1831.

Liverpool Call Book up to May.

Pr. Gore and Son.

Report to the Subscribers of the Liverpool and Leeds Railway.

Pr. E. Robinson.

Sermon. Consecration of St. Jude's Church, by the Bishop of Chester.

Liverpool Telegraphic List and Holden's Tide Table.

Dictionnaire de Verbes et Phrases Idiomatiques Francais. Par Fabius Lea.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

A concise Introduction to Astronomy &c. By John Bradley.

Pr. D. Blowe.

Report Liverpool Dispensaries, for 1830, with the Addresses upon the Opening of New North Dispensary.

Sermon. Oldham Street. Terrible Things in Righteousness. Rev. Hugh Ralph, D.D.

Pr. G. Smith.

Sermon on the Death of Wm. Roscoe Esq., by Rev. J. H. Thom, at Renshaw Street Chapel.

Pr. Willmer and Smith.

A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on his "Bill to Restrain Pluralities." By Rev. E. Hull.

Pr. Cruickshank.

Letter to Lord Brougham, on the subject of Reform. By Wm. Roscoe Esq.

Pr. J. Smith. Republished 1810.

Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Liverpool Election Petition. William Ewart's Election void.

Views of the most interesting Scenery on the Line of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Engraved by J. Shaw.

Pr. D. Marples. 8s. 6d. a part.

Observations on the influence which organized bodies exercise upon each other. By J. Bywater.

1832. A Brief Exposition of the Origin, Design and Fulfilment of the Jewish Sabbath.

Pr. T. Hodgson.

Fugitive Pieces in Prose and Verse. By Robt. Taylor.

Pr. T. E. Johnson.

1832. Sermon, on the Obligation of Christians. By Rev. Geo. Holden.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Liverpool Docks, Report of Committee appointed at Meeting of Ratepayers.
Pr. T. Bean.

The Workhouse Disclosures. By Thos. Smith.
Pr. W. Bethell.

An Essay. Voting by Ballot as practised in Ancient Rome. By John Taylor.
Pr. T. Bean.

Some Account of the Night Asylum, Freemason's Row.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

An Expostulatory Letter. By Samuel Tucker, V.D.M.
Pr. Worrall and Taylor.

Prayers and Exhortations. By an Insolvent Debtor.
Pr. J. F. Cannell.

Passages of Scripture supposed to prove the Deity of Jesus Christ. By R. Wright.
Pr. Wright.

Letter to Rev. H. M'Neile. By Mr. Tarbet.
Pr. Davenport.

Lecture on Cholera. By Dr. Baird, Fever Hospital.
Pr. Rockliff.

Sermon on the General Fast Day. Jehovah's Warning. By Rev. J. H. Stewart.
Pr. Davenport.

Memoir of Signor Paganini.
Pr. Rockliff.

Address, Royal Institution. By Rev. Jon. Brooks.

Address, Liverpool Mechanics' Institution. By Saml. Hope Esq.

A Visitation Sermon, before the Bishop of Chester. By Rector Campbell.
Pr. Harris and Co.

Sermons and Prayers. By J. Gurney, Friends' Meeting-house.
Pr. Hodgson.

Outline of the Testimony of Scripture against the Trinity. By Henry Ware, Jun.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

A Speech at the Philomathic Society—"Are Mechanics' Institutions beneficial or otherwise?"
Pr. E. Smith.

1832. An Address to the Nobility, Gentry &c., of Liverpool, on the Chimney Sweepers' Society.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Remarks on the necessity for establishing in Liverpool a Dispensary for Children. By S. Malins, M.D.

The Miracles of the Irving School. By Dr. Thom.

Poll-book; Squib-book. Candidates—Ewart, Sandon, Thornely, Douglas.

Report of Petition for Bribery and Corruption.

1833. Free Trade as it affects the People. By Henry Booth.
Pr. Wales and Baines.

The Evils which afflict Ireland referred to Primogeniture &c. By Eyre Evans.
Pr. T. Bean.

Proceedings of the Members of the Trades' Union Societies.
Pr. Mawdsley.

Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings at the Rev. W. Orre's house, Christian Street. To be Sold.
Pr. T. Taylor.

Sermon. Day of Thanksgiving for removal of Cholera. By Rev. Thomas Raffles.
Pr. Marples.

Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, on state of West India Colonies.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Man the Image of his Maker. By W. E. Channing, D.D
Pr. Wright.

The superior tendency of Unitarianism to form an elevated Religious Character. By W. E. Channing, D.D.
Pr. Wright.

An Essay on the Doctrine of the two natures of Christ. By R. Wright.
Pr. Wright.

Poll Book. Ewart, Sandon, Thornely and Sir H. Douglas.
Pr. Mawdsley.

Thoughts on Railways and projected Railways. By Observer.
Pr. Harris and Co.

The Visitors' Hand-book to the Liverpool Zoological Gardens.

A copious Report of the Inquiry into the affairs of the Corporation of Liverpool.
Pr. and Pub. E. Smith and Co.

1833. A History of the Liverpool Musical Festival and Fancy Ball, with Engravings.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Sermon. Oldham Street. By Rev. John Mackay.

Report of the Evidence relative to Bribery and Corruption at Liverpool Election.
Pr. S. Franceys.

Refutation of Result of the Evidence &c.
Pr. J. Mawdsley.

Report of the Evidence in the Second Inquiry on ditto.

Result of the Evidence on the Liverpool Borough Election Inquiry.

Index of the Local Acts affecting Liverpool and its neighbourhood.

List of the Animals in the Liverpool Zoological Gardens, with Notices respecting them.

Liverpool Agricultural Society's General Show of Cattle, Sept. 23.

The Right of the Bishops to sit and vote in the House of Peers.
Pr. G. Smith.

Sexagesimal Logarithms, fol. By Fletcher Raincock.

1834. Report of Special Meeting of South Lancashire Conservative Association.
Pr. S. Franceys.

Remarks on the Principles and Use of the Barometer. By John Bywater.
Pr. Melling and Co.

Accounts of the District Provident Visiting Society. By James Shaw, Agent. Remarks by Rev. Augustus Campbell, Rector.
Pr. Shaw.

Instructions for the Liverpool Watch.
Pr. Rockcliff.

Tancredi; Theatre Royal, Liverpool.
Pr. Rockliff.

Hymns, St. Paul's Church, during the Festivals.
Pr. Mawdesly.

On the Divinity of Jesus Christ, as distinguished from his Deity. By R. Wright.
Pr. Wright.

Reasons for Attachment to the Church of England. By Rev. W. Dalton, A.M., St. Jude's.
Pr. Kaye.

1834. The Church: Her Officers, her Charities, her Churches, her Laity.
Pr. Davenport.

Letters Addressed to a Young Master Mariner. By Charles Lorimer.
Pr. George Smith.

Abstract of Evidence respecting Liverpool Borough.

Practice in the Liverpool Ophthalmic Infirmary. By Hugh Neill, Surgeon.

Remarks on the importance of preserving the existing scale of Duties on North American and Foreign Wood.

Farewell Sermon, St. Jude's. By Rev. W. Dalton, M.A.

New Year's Day. By the Author of "Early Recollections," &c.

1835. Pastoral Letter. By Rev. R. P. Buddicom, M.A.
Pr. Davenport.

The Right, Duty, and Privilege of all to read the Holy Scriptures. By Rev. J. H. Stewart, M.A.
Pr. Davenport.

Shorthand Notes of Sermons preached in St. Jude's, by Rev. H. M'Neile, M.A.
Pr. T. Kaye.

A defence of the Doctrine of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light. By Thos. Hancock, M.D.
Pr. Hodgson.

Liverpool Clergy. Report of the Proceedings in the Court of Chancery.
Pr. T. Kaye.

A Letter addressed to the people of Liverpool, on Corporation Reform.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

Views of the World from Halley's Comet. By J. Martineau.
Pr. Willmer and Smith.

Letters in Defence of various points of the Catholic Faith. By Rev. G. Spencer.
Pr. Bradley.

Sermon. The inspired Scriptures the only infallible Rule of Faith. By Rev. R. P. Buddicom, M.A.
Pr. Davenport.

Poll Book. Saudon, Ewart, Douglas and Morris.
Pr. Mawdsley.

1835. Squibs, two Sheets.

Address to Liverpool Medical Society. By Dr. T. Jeffreys.
Pr. Mitchell and Co.

Liverpool Overseers' List for Borough Voters.

Evolution, or the Power and Operation of Numbers. By Thomas Smith.
Pr. Willmer and Smith.

First Report Ophthalmic Infirmary. By Mr. Neill.
Pr. Marples.

Liverpool Commercial Dates. By Adrian Lowe, Custom House, 2nd Edition.
Pr. Mawdsley.

Speech of Robert Rose at the Public Dinner to Lord Brougham, at the Amphitheatre, on Civil and Religious Liberty.
Pr. Smith and Co.

Why is Popery Progressing? By Dr. Thom.

Relacion del Naufragio del Brigantin Guillermo Cuarto procedente de Liverpool.

Ten days in Ireland. By the Poet Laureate to the Liverpool Agricultural Association.

The supposed Sacrament of Penance. By the Rev. Fred. Barker. A Sermon preached at St. Andrew's.

Report of the Proceedings of the Associated Merchants who have recently resisted the payment of the Town Dues.

The Cook's Guide, 3rd Edition. By a Lady.
Pr. Willmer and Co.

The Chairman and Speaker's Guide. By Thomas Smith.

1836. The Infidel and the Parson. By J. Jones.
Pr. Mitchell and Co.

Speeches at Great Protestant Meeting at Amphitheatre.
Pr. Ingram.

A Letter to Mr. Councillor Blackburn on the subject of the Corporation Schools.
Pr. J. Davenport.

Sermon. Character of the Church of Rome. By the Rev. H. M'Neile, A.M.
Pr. G. Smith.

Guide to the Electors in Boroughs or Counties. By a Solicitor.

Abstract of the Municipal Reform Act, so far as relates to Liverpool.

1836. Sermon. The Sacrifice of the Mass. By Rev. John Lyon, M.A.

Catalogue of Books in the Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library, 15, School Lane.

Pr. Marples.

A History of the Liverpool Musical Festival, with a List of the Fancy Ball, October 3rd to 7th.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Deed of Settlement of Borough Bank. Established 1836.

Pr. Marples.

Letter to Corporation of Liverpool, on a Medical Coroner. By George Rogerson, Surgeon.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

A Letter addressed to the People called Quakers.

Pr. Bethell.

A Speech. What have the Council done? By Mr. Walmsley.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

A Discourse. Against the Invocation of Saints and Angels. By Rev. Andrew Knox, B.A.

Pr. Davenport.

Two Sermons. The necessity for a Christian Ministry in special adaptation to the Poor. By Rev. J. H. Thom.

Speeches at Amphitheatre on Scriptural Education.

Pr. T. Kaye.

Prospectus. Ministry for the Poor in Liverpool.

Pr. Willmer and Smith.

"Explanatory Notes," Liverpool Corporation Schools.

Pr. Davenport.

Popery! As it was and as it is. Cork Assizes.

Poll Book. First Election of Town Councillors after the Reform Bill.

Pr. Mawdsley.

Warehouses upon the Dock Quays. By Ald. Eyre Evans.

Pr. T. Bean.

The Elysium of Animals. By Egerton Smith.

First Report of the Liverpool Protestant Association, held in the Amphitheatre.

New Liverpool Tide Table. By T. Bywater.

Anticipated Address &c., respecting a new system of Education in the Liverpool Schools.

The Surveyor's Reports to the Dock Committee from 1824 to 1835,

1836. Liverpool Clarence Dock and Wigan Railway project.

Instructions for the Liverpool Constabulary Force.

1837. Letters on National Education, to the Town Council. By Rev. H. M'Neile.

Pr. J. Davenport.

Speech of Rev. H. M'Neile, at Church of England School Meeting, held at the Amphitheatre.

Pr. J. Davenport.

The Millenium; The Wisdom of Jesus; and the Foolery of Sectarianism, in Twelve Letters. By John Finch.

Pr. Ross and Nightingale.

Deed of Constitution of Apothecaries' Company, Liverpool. Established May 30th, 1836. With a plan.

Pr. G. Smith.

Address, by John Rutter, M.D., on the opening of the Medical Institution, Hope Street, May 31st, 1837.

Pr. G. Smith.

Poll Book. Sandon, Cresswell, Ewart and Elphinstone.

The Catholic Mission in Australia. By W. Ullathorne, D.D.

Pr. Rockliff.

Letter on Catholicism &c. By Dr. Channing.

Pr. Willmer and Smith.

Letters on Baptism. By Thomas Ritson.

Pr. Marples.

Sermon on the Death of Rev. E. M. Crossfield. By Rev. James Wright.

Pr. Davenport.

Remarks on Evangelical Preaching. By Rev. T. Byrth.

Pr. Davenport.

An Address to the Clergy of Liverpool styled Evangelical. By *Laicus Liverpoliensis.*

Pr. Cannell.

Sermon. The Scriptural principle and leading objects of a National Church. By Rev. H. M'Neile, St. Jude's.

Pr. Kaye.

The Pocket-book of Etiquette. By Arthur Freeling.

Pr. Lacey.

Conservative Triumph; or, the three Glorious Days! Speeches at Amphitheatre, 16th, 18th and 20th October, to celebrate the return of Sandon and Cresswell.

Pr. *Mail* Office.

1837. Report of the Gaol Acts affecting the Gaol and House of Correction of Liverpool. By Reginald Radcliffe, Town Clerk.

Report of the Committee of Reformers of Rodney Street Ward, on the Corporation Schools.

List of the Members of the British Association resident in or near Liverpool.

1838. Sermon. Danger cannot teach : Now is the time ! By Rev. H. M'Neile, M.A.

Pr. H. Perris.

Funeral Services on the Death of Rev. R. S. McAll, LL.D. By Dr. Raffles &c.

Pr. Marples and Co.

Trial. Corporation of Liverpool against James Muspratt, Esq., Manufacturer of Alkali, Vauxhall Road.

Pr. Marples.

A Statement of Truths, in reply to the Incumbent of St. Mark's. By Rev. Prince Crawford, M.A.

Pr. Perry.

An Exposure of Liberal Education. By Rev. F. Ould.

Pr. Perris.

Plain Instructions. Shorthand. By T. C. Foster, of the *Standard* Office.

First Report Liverpool Shipwreck and Humane Society.

Sermon by Rev. H. Carpenter, at St. Michael's. First of a Weekly Series, on "The Errors of the Church of Rome."

Pr. Davenport.

[Succeeded and published a few days after being preached, by Rev. Fielding Ould, Rev. R. P. Buddicom, Rev. J. Jones, Rev. F. Barker, Rev. Dr. Tattershall, Rev. D. James, Rev. J. H. Stewart, Rev. C. W. Lawrence, Rev. H. M'Neile.]

Elementary Latin Class Book. By M. Thornborrow.

Pr. Perry and Co.

Mr. Rishton, Building Surveyor. First Annual Report.

1839. Observations on the Force of the Wind and the Resistance of the Air. By Henry Booth, Esq.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

The Practical importance of the Controversy with Unitarians. By Rev. F. Ould, M.A.

Pr. Perris.

1839. [Followed by published Lectures each successive Wednesday Evening, at Christ Church, by Rev. Dr. Tattershall, Rev. T. Byrth, Rev. J. Jones, Rev. J. H. Stewart, Rev. H. M'Neile, Rev. D. James, Rev. R. P. Buddicom, Rev. J. E. Bates, Rev. H. W. M'Grath, Rev. R. Davies, Rev. H. Stowell, Rev. W. Dalton.

Narrative of the Dreadful Disasters occasioned by the Hurricane at Liverpool, January 6th and 7th, 1839.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Visit to the Corporation Schools in Liverpool.

The New Act. Mr. Rowland Hill's Penny Postage.

Sermon. Sacramental Religion. St. Patrick's, Toxteth.

Lecture, the Practical importance of the Unitarian Controversy. By Rev. J. H. Thom, Paradise Street Chapel.

[Followed by published Lectures each successive Tuesday Evening, at Paradise Street Chapel—four by Rev. J. H. Thom, five by Rev. J. Martineau, four by Rev. H. Giles.]

An Account of some Experiments on Voltaic Electricity. By T. Spencer.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

A New Method of Slaughtering Animals for Human Food. By James Carson, M.D., F.R.S.

Pr. M'Gowan.

Considerations on the Increase and Progress of Crime. By William Sandford Phillips, Gent.

Pr. Marples.

Warehouses on the Dock Quays, a Reply to a recent Publication.

Pr. W. Forshaw.

Warehouses upon the Dock Quays, as necessary to the promotion of the Trade and Prosperity of Liverpool, and of the neighbouring Towns and Counties in Mercantile connexion therewith.

Memorial to the Dock Committee on deficient accommodation for Shipping, Fines, etc.

Rules and Regulations concerning the Holding of Courts, and Practice of the Borough Court of Liverpool.

Watch Committee; Rewards to Constables.

1840. Memoir of the late Henry Park, Esq., Surgeon, Liverpool. Portrait.

Pr. Marples.

1840. Moral Code of the New Moral World. By John Finch.

The Liturgic Hymns, as a Guide to Choirs and Congregations of the Established Church.

Brandy and Salt.

Sermon: Rulers' influence for the promotion of True Religion. By Dr. Tattershall.

Pr. Perry.

Sermon, Young Men's Christian Association. By Dr. Byrth, with a Letter to Dr. Tattershall.

Pr. Perris.

What is Christianity? By F. Hollick, L.M.

Pr. Stewart.

Dr. Neill's Report upon Deafness and Cure. Plates.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

Catalogue of the First Exhibition at Mechanics' Institution.

Pr. Marples.

First Annual Report Liverpool Auxiliary Church Pastoral Aid Society.

Sermon on the Death of Rev. John Stewart, D.D. By Rev. Dr. Raffles.

Pr. Marples.

Rudiments of Geography. By J. and W. Stephenson, Springfield Academy.

On the Dispersion and Restoration of the Jews. By S. Kent, Paradise Street.

Pr. Taylor.

Report of the Sanitary State of the residences of the Labouring Classes. By W. H. Duncan, M.D.

1841. Lecture on the Life of Dr. Franklin, at the Amphitheatre. By Dr. M'Neile.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

Daily Prayers used at the House of Correction, Kirkdale.

Proceedings at Laying of the Foundation Stone of Collegiate Institution.

Sermon, Young Men's Society. By H. M'Neile, M.A.

Pr. Perris.

Treatise on Painful Affections of Nerves. By Dr. Cronin.

The Punishment of Death.

Pr. Baines.

1841. Memoir of Life and Career of Commodore Napier.
Pr. Ross and Co.
Lecture. By Rev. Thomas Butler, D.D.
Memoir of the late Mr. S. Taylor, Norfolk.
Pr. Cannell.
Properties of Salted Brandy. By Rev. S. Fenton.
Pr. Lace and Co.
A Memoir on the Naturalization of the Alpaca. By William Walton, Natural History Society of Liverpool.
Address on Laying the Foundation Stone of Lancashire Independent College. By George Hadfield.
Pr. Marples.
Second Letter to Dr. Byrth. By Dr. Tattershall.
Pr. Perris.
Poll Book. Sandon, Cresswell, Palmerston, Walmsley.
Pr. Mawdsley.
The Life of Christ. By Braithwaite Poole.

1842. Liturgy of the Church of God, worshipping in Rathbone Street.
Remarks on Speech, by Rev. H. M'Neile. By Rev. T. Youens, D.D.
Law of Principal and Factor.
Pr. Mawdsley.
Statistics of Vauxhall Ward, Liverpool. By John Finch, Jun., Merchant.
Abstract of an Act for the Promotion of the Health of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Liverpool
Pr. Carter.
Catalogue of the Second Exhibition at the Mechanics' Institution.
Pr. Marples.
Rules and Regulations, Lancashire Constabulary Force.
A Course of Lectures on Education. By Thomas Wesley Renwick, Surgeon.
Pr. Marples.
An Elementary Introduction to the Nautical Almanac, &c. By G. P. Payne, Optician, Liverpool.
Iron, as a Material for Ship Building. By John Grantham, C.E., President Liverpool Polytechnic Society.
Pr. Lace and Addison.
Lessons on Words and Experiments. By John Smith.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

1842. Warehouses upon the Dock Quays, as necessary to the Promotion of the Trade and Prosperity of Liverpool.

1843. A Memoir of Ebenezer Birrell. By his Brother. Second Edition.

Speeches at the Anti-Monopoly Association.

Acts for the Better Protection of Property in Liverpool from Fire.

Rules and Regulations of the Liverpool Sharebrokers' New Association, founded October 22, 1842.

Pr. Rockliff.

Grand Concert.

Pr. Hurton.

Sketch of the Prisons in Russian and Polish War in 1830. By Zabrocki.

Pr. Taylor.

Proceedings at the Opening of the Liverpool Collegiate Institution.

The Physical Causes of the High Rate of Mortality in Liverpool. By Dr. Duncan.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

The Test: a Collection of Poems. By Robert Gibbs Jackson.

Two Sermons. By Father Mathew.

Pr. Rockliff.

Reports of the Sanitary Condition of Birkenhead, with Plans, &c. By Samuel Stansfield. Present State and Future Prospects.

Chants arranged for four voices. By Michael Ashton, Esq.

Results of the Great Operations of Surgery at Liverpool Infirmary. By John P. Halton, Surgeon.

Pr. *Mail* Office.

An Essay: The Public Improvements of Liverpool. By Samuel Holme.

Pr. Lace and Co.

The Teetotal Songster. By George Archdeacon.

Pr. Dunsford.

Catalogue of the Great Polytechnic Exhibition at Collegiate Institution.

Reports of Lancashire Independent College. By Dr. Raffles.

Pr. Marples.

Sermon on Education, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Pr. Grapel.

First Annual Report, Liverpool Anti-Monopoly Association.

1843. Letter on Free Trade. By Walter Fletcher. Third Edition.

1844. Personal Impressions; a Series of Sonnets, written during Exhibition of Liverpool Mechanics' Institution, 1840, '42, '44.

Late hours of business among Shopkeepers. Report of a Public Meeting.

Catalogue of the Liverpool Law Society Library, Laws and List of Members.

Reply from the Surgeons of the Liverpool Northern Hospital to Mr. Halton's Pamphlet, 1843.

Pr. Richardson.

Catalogue of the Third Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institution.

Pr. Marples.

A Selection of Anthems and Hymns for the Chapel for the Blind.

Lessons on Words, and Experiments. By John Smith. 6th thousand.

Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Miscellaneous Poems. By G. M. Palmer.

Pr. Fraser.

Establishment of a Sailors' Home. Report of a Public Meeting held in the Sessions House.

Pr. T. Carter.

Specimens of Printing Inks, Walker and Gilton, Vernon Street.

Pr. Marples.

Letter to J. P. Halton, Esq., Surgeon, by W. H. Duncan, M.D., on the Physical Causes of the High Rate of Mortality in Liverpool.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.,

Report of Cases brought before the Liverpool Pathological Society.

Rules and Regulations, Court of Passage, Liverpool.

1845. The Liverpool Stock Exchange considered. By M. D. Lowndes.

Pr. Robinson.

The *Liverpool Mercury* Population Tables.

Report of Evidence, on the alleged dearness and insufficiency of the supply of Water in Liverpool.

Pr. Kaye.

Water; a pamphlet. By Harmood Banner.

Pr. Richardson.

Water; a second pamphlet. By Harmood Banner.

Letter to H. Banner in reply to his Pamphlet. By S. Holme.

1845. Report of Public Meeting of Health of Towns Association.

Christian Union. Two Sermons. By Dr. Raffles.

Address of Rev. James Aspinall at the Great Free Trade Meeting.

On the Disease at present existing in the Potato Crop. By Thomas Baines.

Pr. *Times* Office.

A call on the Wesleyan Methodists to adopt means to obtain a revival of Religion.

Pr. Blevin.

A Voice of Warning to the Evangelical Alliance.'

Correspondence respecting the Liverpool Observatory, between Mr. J. Taylor of Liverpool and Rev. R. Sheepshanks.

Supplement to the Correspondence.

Sermon. The Christian pursuing things which are lovely and of good report. By Rev. J. Cordeaux.

A Lecture. Public Worship. By Rev. J. Jones.

The Amended Tariff. By R. M. Parker, Liverpool Customs.

The Royal Mersey Yacht Club.

Pr. Payne.

An Accòunt of the First Voyage of the Steam Ship *Great Britain*. Seventeen Engravings.

Pr. Lace and Addison.

Letter to House of Lords, on the Grant to College of Maynooth. By Rev. Edward Hull.

Advantages of Free Trade to the Landed Interest. By William Brown, Esq.

Pr. Whitty and Ellis.

Liverpool and Holyhead Telegraphic Vocabulary, &c. By Lieut. William Lord, R.N. Published by Daniel Mason, Secretary Liverpool Docks.

Observations on the present state of the affairs of the River Plate. By Thomas Baines.

1846. Sermon on the Death of Dr. Tattershall. By Dr. Byrth.

A Romance of Liverpool Life. By John Dignan.

Abstract of Proceedings before Committee of House of Commons, on the Liverpool and Harrington Water Works Bill.

Sermon: Victory over Death. By Rev. H. M'Neile, on the Death of Dr. Tattershall.

Pr. Newling.

1846. Personal Narrative of an Excursion to the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard. By Dr. Hibbert Taylor.

The True Gardener of Nature: an Oration. By C. Sumner.
Pr. Marples.

Speech of J. B. Moore, Esq., on Dock Extension. Map.
Pr. Mawdsley.

The Illegality of imprisoning Smith O'Brien. By John Gray, Esq.

Consider what I say. By Rev. W. M. Falloon.
Pr. Perris.

Georgics of Life; or, Scenes from the Town Life of the Poor. A Poem. By J. Johns.
Pr. Mitchell and Co.

Lays for the Times. By G. Linnæus Banks.
Pr. *Mail* Office.

Sermon for the Southern Hospital. By Rev. T. Nolan.
Pr. Lace.

Sermon to the Memory of Rev. R. P. Buddicom. By Rev. J. Jones, of St. Andrew's Church.

Proposed Evangelical Alliance.
Pr. T. Kaye.

Sermon: The Manifested Oneness of the Church of Christ. By Rev. H. M'Neile, M.A.

The Corporation of Liverpool, *versus* the Birkenhead Dock Company. Arbitration Preliminary Reports.

Education and Educational Institutions. By Rev. J. Booth, LL.D., Vice-Principal Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
Pr. Wareing Webb.

Sermon: "Every Eye shall see Him"; or, Prince Albert's Visit to Liverpool used in illustration of the second coming of Christ. By Rev. H. M'Neile.
Pr. Newling.

Report of Proceedings of Public Meeting on the Tea Duties, in the Sessions House.
Pr. Carter.

Progress of Free Trade in 1845. Fourth Annual Report Liverpool Anti-Monopoly Association.
Pr. Whitty and Ellis.

Prince Albert's Visit to Liverpool. Opening of Albert Dock and Laying Foundation Stone of Sailors' Home.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1846. Report of the Proceedings at the Meeting of Master Builders, held April 2nd.

List of Merchants and Shipowners entitled to vote for Members of the Dock Committee.

State and Prospects of Ireland. By Eyre Evans.

1847. Sermon: "Ye see the Distress that we are in." By Rev. C. H. Burton, St. Philip's.

Tracts and Documents. Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. By Dr. Hume.

Pr. Whitty and Ellis.

The Incubus on Commerce. By Tristram Tyre, Esq.

Pr. T. Baines.

Commercial Legislation for 1848.

Sermon. The Famine; a rod of God. By Rev. H. M'Neile.

Liverpool Guardian Gas Bill. Parliamentary Inquiry.

The Agricultural resources of Great Britain, Ireland and the Colonies. By T. Baines.

Mr. Rowson's Statement of Facts respecting late occurrences at New Brighton.

The Antiquities found at Hoylake. By Dr. Hume.

Ireland and her Famine. By Rev. James Martineau.

Form of Prayer for Removal of Scarcity and Dearth.

Pr. Walmsley.

Catalogue of the Grand Polytechnic Exhibition at the Liverpool Collegiate Institution, Midsummer.

Pr. Brakell.

Holyhead Harbour; Letter to Lord Sandon. By Charles Wye Williams, Esq. Charts.

Extracts, Water Works Bill. Purchase of existing Water Companies.

Pr. Whitty and Ellis.

Correspondence between Jno. Mawdsley, Seacombe, of the Church of England, and two esteemed Friends of the Church of Rome.

Pr. Newling.

Letter addressed to Richard Sheil, Esq., on the Education Grant. By Anglo-Catholicus.

Pr. Baines, *Times* Office.

Report on the Form and Construction of Sewers, &c. By J. Newlands, Borough Engineer.

1847. Letter on the Navigation Laws. By H. C. Chapman.

Church Establishments. Report of the Discussion between Edward Miall, Esq., and Rev. Joseph Baylee.

1848. The Poor Law Amendment Act. By T. Smith, West Derby Guardian.

Pr. Mitchell and Co.

Hydromania; or the Water Question, a Political fragment of Rivington Pike. By a Shopkeeper of Liverpool.

Hope for the Warehouse Owners, &c. By T. J. Hutton.

Pr. T. Kaye.

Remarks on Chloroform. By W. H. Bainbrigge, Surgeon.

Pr. T. Kaye.

Sketch of the History of the House of Stanley and the House of Sefton. By David Ross, of the *Liverpool Chronicle*.

The True Pathological Nature of Cholera and its Treatment. By Dr. G. S. Hawthorne. Second Edition.

Pr. Smith and Co.

Sermon. On the Opening of St. Paul's Church. By Rev. Dr. M'Neile. "The House of God."

Pr. Newling.

On Medical Education. By Dr. Dickinson, M.A.

Destruction of an Emigrant Ship, the *Ocean Monarch*, by Fire. One hundred and seventy-six lives lost.

Liverpool Financial Reform Association Tracts, commenced in September.

Sermon: The Moral Consequences of a False Faith. By Rev. Cecil Wray, St. Martin's.

Observations on the Sewer Rate. By J. Newlands and Capes Ashlin.

Supply of Water to Liverpool, briefly considered. By T. Spencer.

Direct Taxation. Prize Essay.

An Address to Sunday Scholars. By the late Rev. Sam. Saunders.

1849. Sermon: God's Voice in the Cholera. By. Rev. J. H. Jones.

Ancient Liverpool in its Buildings and Architecture. By J. A. Picton, Esq.

Pr. Marples.

Speech of Samuel Holme, Esq., to the Electors of Rodney Street Ward, at the Music Hall, Bold Street.

Pr. T. Kaye.

1849. An Inquiry into the changes of the level in the Sea and Land on West Coast. By J. A. Picton, Esq.

Pr. T. Kaye.

Lecture: The History of the Mediterranean. By Rev. J. S. Howson, at the Collegiate Institution.

Artizans' Prize Essays. On the Influence of rational and elevating Amusements upon the Working Classes.

Jenny Lind's Concert at the Amphitheatre, for the Southern Hospital.

Celebration of the Opening of the Philharmonic Hall. Six Concerts during the week, August 27th to 31st.

Hints: Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. By H. C. Pidgeon.

Pr. Brakell.

A Lecture. By W. H. Bainbrigge, Surgeon. For promoting a Governesses' Institution in Liverpool.

Pr. T. Kaye.

Trial and Acquittal of Mr. S. Mitchell.

Pr. S. Mitchell.

A Discourse on the Watch-night Lamps. By Rev. J. Martineau. Opening of Hope Street New Church.

Reports of Committees of the Council on the Water Supply.

Pr. *Mail* Office.

National Sin—What is it? A Letter to Sir George Grey, by Rev. H. M'Neile.

Pr. Newling.

Sermon. Thanksgiving Day for Deliverance from Cholera. By Rev. Edward Hull, M.A. Chapel for the Blind.

Pr. Marples.

Wild Flowers. Edited by Rev. T. D. Halstead.

Pr. Marples.

Liverpool Water Supply. Report of James Simpson, Esq., C.E., and James Newlands, Esq., C.E.

Pr. Marples.

Sermon: The Threshing Floor of Araunah. By Rev. William Hesketh.

Sermon at the Primary Visitation of the Bishop of Chester. By Rev. Augustus Campbell, Rector of Liverpool.

Speech: The National Restoration of the Jews to Palestine repugnant to the Word of God. By Rev. W. W. Ewbank.

1849. Sermon: Christian Burial, and Unconsecrated Cemeteries. By Rev. John Martin, Curate of St. Martin's, Liverpool.

Sermon: Charity under Persecution. By Rev. J. Martin.

Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Dr. Byrth, Rector of Wallasey. By Rev. John Tobin, Liscard.

Speeches of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.

Pr. J. R. Williams.

Report of Messrs. Haigh and Newlands, on the Subject of Rivington Pike Contract.

Report on the Liverpool Observatory. By the Astronomer to the Committee.

Report on the Operations under the Liverpool Sanitary Act. By J. A. Tinne, Esq.

Sir Hugh of Lincoln; or, an examination of a curious Tradition respecting the Jews, &c. By Dr. Hume.

Report of the Medical Relief Committee to the Select Vestry of the Parish of Liverpool.

Letter to Robertson Gladstone, Esq., on the Publications of the Financial Reform Association.

Chambers and Tribunals of Commerce. By Levi Leone.

1850. Traces of the Settlement of the Saxon in England, &c. By J. A. Picton, F.S.A.

Pr. M. J. Whitty.

A Tract for my Parish, with reference to the Gorham Case. By Rev. F. A. Power, M.A.

Pr. Newling.

Sermon: Our Lord's appearing and Jewish Restoration. By Rev. F. A. Power, M.A.

Pr. Deighton.

Copies of Correspondence between Dr. Dundas and Dr. Vose.

Pr. Rockliff.

Reply, &c., of Mr. King Ellison to the statements of Dr. Dundas.

Pr. *Mail* Office.

Sudlow's Musical Services of the Church of England.

Ship-building in Liverpool. Evidence before Committee of Town Council.

Pr. *Mail* Office.

Treatise on Physical Education. By Louis Huguenin.

Public Discussion of Latter-day Saints.

Pansies; Impromptu Thoughts. By a Lady. Poems.

1850. Believe and be sure. By Rev. W. M. Falloon.
Pr. Newling.

Report of Robert Stephenson, C.E., on the Supply of Water to the Town of Liverpool, March 28th.
Pr. in London.

Letter to the Holders of Bonds in the Birkenhead Docks. By John Laird.
Pr. Marples.

Report of the Surveyor, for increased facilities for Shipping Coals at Liverpool.

Report of Surveyor of Liverpool Docks, upon Sites for Ship Building.

Letters on the Export Coal Trade of Liverpool. Illustrated. By W. Laird.

Deed of Settlement of the Royal Bank of Liverpool.

The Symptomatic Treatment of Asiatic Cholera. By Ewing Whittle, M.D.
Pr. E. Smith and Co.

Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, under an Act for the Improvement of Liverpool.

Dr. Mackay's Letter on Fire and Lights on board the vessels in the Liverpool Docks.

Mr. Gregson's Address on the Removal of the Timber Trade.

On the State of the Law of Arbitraments. By Levi Leone.

Electro-Biology; or, the Electrical Science of Life. By G. W. Stone.

SERIALS.

1712. The earliest specimen of a periodical publication which appeared in Liverpool is entitled "*The Liverpool Courant*, being an "abstract of the London and other news, from Tuesday, July "15th, to Friday, July the 18th, 1712, No. 18."
Printed by S. Terry, Dale Street.

1756. Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, No. 1, May 28.

1798. *The Student*, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4. 2 vols. No. 2 dated November 1st, 1798. The rest have no date. W. Hilton, Teacher.

1798. *The Caterer*, or Liverpool Weekly Magazine, vol. 1, No. 3.

1799. *The Liverpool Phœnix*, continued to 1813.

1800. *Family Instructor*. Five parts.
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street.

1801 to 1808. *The New Theological Repository*, consisting of Original Essays upon the Evidence, Excellency, and Doctrines of Christianity &c.

1813. *Mirror of Amusement*, 2 vols. Tales of Instruction and Amusement.
Pr. Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon.

1816. *The Liverpool Magazine*, and General Provincial Miscellany for 1816. Eleven numbers, monthly.
Pr. F. Roberts, late Johnson, Manesty lane.

1816. *The Liverpool Freeman*; or, Weekly Magazine of Political Essays and Miscellaneous Papers. Six numbers.
Pr. F. B. Wright.

1816. *The Liverpool Chronicle*, and General Provincial Magazine. Monthly parts.
Pr. W. Bethell.

1816. *The Corrector*; or, Dramatic Intelligencer; containing Original Criticisms on the Performances and Performers at the Theatre Royal, Liverpool, for the Summer Season, 1816. Six weekly numbers.
Pr. Nevett's, Castle Street.

1818 to 1830. *The Kaleidoscope;* or, Literary and Scientific Mirror. A weekly publication, containing a variety of original and select articles. 1 vol. folio. New series, quarto, eleven vols.
Pr. and Pub. E. Smith & Co.

1819 to July, 1821. *The Imperial Magazine*. Illustrated with Portraits &c.
Pr. H. Fisher, Caxton Press.

1819. *The Liverpool and Manchester Quarterly Magazine*, containing the 1st and 2nd series, by Sarah Medley, Haymarket, illustrated. 1820, the second year's series, under the title of the *Royal Magazine*.
Pr. J. Lang, Drury Lane.

1820. *The Bee.* Fire-side Companion and Evening Tales, calculated to blend Instruction with Delight. Twenty-four numbers. [It was advertised that this volume should be immediately followed by another, entitled *The Queen Bee*, to be completed in twenty-four numbers.]

Pr. Henry Fisher, Caxton Press.

1821. *The Liverpool Theatrical Investigator.* Price 1d. 129 daily numbers. Vol. 1, ending Dec. 1st, 1821. Vol. 2, twenty-six weekly numbers. Price 3d. No. 1, June 2, 1822.

Pr. F. B. Johnson.

The Thespian; a series of Essays on the Drama, applicable chiefly to the Theatricals of Liverpool during the Season of 1821. Daily numbers. Price 1d. Ending Dec. 1st, 1821. Ninety numbers.

Pr. and Pub. Smith & Melling, Pool Lane.

The Censor; or Review of Public Amusements in Liverpool. Price 2d. Eleven weekly numbers. Ending Feb., 1822.

Pr. F. B. Johnson.

The Academic; a Periodical Publication, comprising Original Essays, Reviews, Poems, &c. In twenty-two numbers, fortnightly.

Pr. and Pub. by R. Rockliff.

1822. *The Hermes;* a Literary, Moral and Scientific Journal. Twenty-eight weekly numbers. Price 3½d.

1823. *Liverpool Apollonius.* No. 1, and in 1824 No. 2, by J. H. Swale.

Pr. F. B. Johnson.

1824 to 1826. *Life in London*, 1 vol. 2nd vol. Bethell's Life in London and Liverpool, Sporting Register, weekly numbers, Price 2d.

Pr. and Pub. by W. Bethell, 10, Marshall Street.

1824. *The Nepenthe;* or, Liverpool Weekly Correspondent and Journal of Fashionable Literature. Fifty-one weekly numbers. Published by J. De Camps, Castle Street. Price 2½d. and 3d.

Pr. J. Hodgson, Tarleton Street.

1825. *The Engineer;* or Philosophical and Mathematical Repository. only one number. By W. Marratt.

Pr. Rushton and Melling.

1826. *The Liverpool Repository of Literature, Philosophy and Commerce.* By an Association of Literary Gentlemen. Twelve monthly numbers. Pub. C. Gray, Paradise Street.

Pr. D. Marples, 69, Paradise Street.

1827. *The Lancashire Literary Museum;* or, Journal of Polite Literature, Arts, and Sciences. Quarto, weekly numbers. Price 3½d. Edited by James Scott Walker.
Pr. and Pub. by Edward Willmer, 25, Lord Street.

1829. *Le Panorama;* Recueil Littéraire Français. Nineteen weekly numbers. Price 6d. E. Smith & Co.

1830. *The Companion.* Gratuitously circulated with the *Liverpool Chronicle.* Thirty-five numbers, weekly.
Pr. Wm. H. Farman.

1831. *The Liver;* or, Liverpool Local Correspondent. G. Smith & Co.

1832. *The Lancashire Omnibus.* Journal of Literature and Amusement.

1833. *The Liverpool Medical Gazette;* or, Monthly Journal of Medicine and the Collateral Sciences. Twelve numbers. Edited by Dr. Hunter Lane.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1834. *The Watchman's Lantern;* intended to throw light on the proceedings of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and its representatives.
Pr. E. Smith & Co.

The Horoscope; a Weekly Miscellany of Astrology. Nineteen numbers. Edited by Zadkiel.
Pr. Willmer and Smith.

The Monthly Archives of the Medical Sciences. Five numbers. Edited by Dr. Hunter Lane.
Pr. T. Kaye.

The Mélange. A variety of original pieces of Prose and Verse; comprising the Elysium of Animals. By E. Smith. Twelve monthly numbers, illustrated.
Pr. and Pub. by Egerton Smith & Co.

The Liverpool Medical Journal. Four monthly numbers.
Pr. W. Grapel.

1835. *The Story Teller;* or, Fire-side Companion. Twenty-five numbers. Price ½d.
Pr. and Pub. W. R. Knipe, 125, St. James' Street.

1837. *The Rambler;* or, Budget of Literature and Fun. Weekly Periodical. Edited by the Liver Club.
Pr. George Thompson.

1842. *Journal of Science, Literature and Art,* and of Institution Reports. Six monthly numbers, Quarto.
Pr. and Pub. H. Ganthrop.

1845. *Liverpool Health of Towns Advocate.* Edited by Dr. Sutherland. Published monthly from Sep. 1st to July 1st, 1847.

1847. *The Liverpool Lion* (afterwards added—or, Lancashire Charivari.) A Journal devoted to the illustration of Things as they are, with stray hints of Things as they ought to be. Illustrated. Weekly numbers. Price 3d. First published by G. J. Keet, Arcade. Second published by G. B. Horridge & Co., 1, Sweeting Street.

1847. *Liverpool Financial Reform Association Tracts* commenced.

1848. *Jones.* Published fortnightly. Price 2d. Afterwards called *The Liverpool Charivari.*
Pr. Doran and Lerry, &c.

1849. *The Roscoe Magazine,* and Lancashire and Cheshire Literary Reporter. Six monthly numbers. E. Howell, Church Street.
Pr. E. Matthews, 35, South John Street.

1850. *The Original.* A Periodical established by a few young men, as an Amusement for their Leisure hours.
Pr. *Albion* Office.

GUIDES.

1784. A Familiar Medical Survey of Liverpool, Situation of the Town, the Qualities and Influence of the Air, &c. By W. Moss, Surgeon, Liverpool.
Pr. R. Hodgson.

1795. Wallace's General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool.
Pr. McCreery & Phillips.

1796. The Liverpool Guide; including a Sketch of the Environs: with a Map of the Town. Sold by Crane & Jones, Castle Street.

1797. The Liverpool Guide; including a Sketch of the Environs: with a Map. By W. Moss. Second Edition, enlarged.
Pr. T. Swarbreck.

1799. The Liverpool Guide; including a Sketch of the Environs: with a Map of the Town; and Directions for Sea-bathing. By W. Moss. Third Edition, enlarged.
Pr. J. McCreery.

1801. The Liverpool Guide; including a Sketch of the Environs: with a Map; and Directions for Sea-bathing. By W. Moss. Fourth Edition, enlarged.
Pr. J. McCreery.

1805. The Picture of Liverpool; or, Stranger's Guide: with a Plan of the Town.
Pr. W. Jones, at the *Chronicle* Office.

1807. The Stranger in Liverpool; or, an Historical and Descriptive View of Liverpool and its Environs: with a Map. Illustrated. First Edition.
Pr. by and for Thomas Kaye, 1807.

1808. The Picture of Liverpool; or, Stranger's Guide. A New Edition, considerably enlarged. Embellished with Engravings on Wood by the first Artists: with a Map.
Pr. Jones & Wright, Swift's court.

1810. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Second Edition, with corrections and additions. With Illustrations and a Map: with an Epitome of the History of Liverpool—the first of the Annals.
Pr. Thomas Kaye.

1812. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Third Edition, with corrections and additions. With Illustrations and a Map.
Pr. Thomas Kaye.

1814. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. Fourth Edition.
Pr. Thomas Kaye.

1816. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Fifth Edition: with a Map, and a large collection of Engraved Views at the end.
Pr. Thomas Kaye.

1820. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Sixth Edition. A New Plan of the Town. One edition illustrations interspersed; another with a number at the end. An Appendix of the Family of Edward Moore (1667) first introduced.

1823. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Seventh Edition. A new plan from the Sixth Edition. First entry as the Annals of Liverpool. Large number of Illustrations at the end.
Pr. Thomas Kaye.

1825. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Eighth Edition. Map same as the Seventh Edition. An Import and Export Chart added.

1829. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Ninth Edition, with corrections and copious additions. Profusely illustrated, with an appendix, from the Ancient Town Records &c. &c.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1833. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. The Tenth Edition. A New Map. Illustrated by small views.

1834. The Picture of Liverpool; or Stranger's Guide. A New and correct Map of the Town.
Pr. and Pub. Thomas Taylor.

1836. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. Eleventh Edition.
Pr. Thomas Kaye.

Cornish's Stranger's Guide. First Edition. Pub. 37, Lord Street.

1839. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. Twelfth Edition. A New Map, much enlarged. Illustrations many and finer.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1840. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. Twelfth Edition.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1841. The Stranger in Liverpool; &c. Twelfth Edition. A New Map, numerous illustrations.
Pr. T. Kaye.

1842. Smith's Stranger's Guide to Liverpool. By Alexander Brown. Illustrated.

1843. The Picturesque Hand-book to Liverpool; being an improved Edition of the Stranger's Pocket Book. Fourth Thousand. A new and accurate Plan of the Town. Wareing Webb, Castle Street.

1843. Smith's Stranger's Guide to Liverpool. By Alex. Brown, A.M. With Illustrations and a Map of Town, Price 4s. With Plan and two Engravings, Price 2s.
Published by Benj. Smith, South Castle Street.

1844. The Stranger's Pocket Guide through Liverpool. Second Edition. A Plan of the Town.
Published by Benj. Smith, South Castle Street.

Pictorial Liverpool. Illustrated by Engravings, Woodcuts, and Lithographic Drawings, fifty in number. New Outline Map. By James Stonehouse.
Published by Henry Lacey, Bold Street.

A New and complete Hand-book for the Stranger in Liverpool. A New Outline Map. A New Edition. No Illustrations. By James Stonehouse.

Published by Henry Lacey.

1846. Brown's Threepenny Guide through Liverpool. For Cheap Trains. An Engraved Map. By James Stonehouse.

Pr. and Pub. by John Brown, Dansie Street.

The Picturesque Hand-book of Liverpool; with a day at Birkenhead. A Map of the Town, and above One Hundred Engravings. Fifth Edition. By H. M. Addey.

Published by Benj. Smith, South Castle Street.

1850. The Stranger in Liverpool. By Thomas Kaye. Re-issue. Twelfth Edition.

THE LAKELAND OF LANCASHIRE.

No. I.—Hawkshead Town, Church and School.

By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.

Read 2nd March, 1865.

The English Lakes are commonly spoken of as of Cumberland or Westmoreland; and comparatively few amongst the crowds that flock thither every season make themselves aware of the fact that a considerable portion of what is popularly called the Lake District—a portion, too, containing every variety of scenery that may be imagined as ranging between the most savage and sterile grandeur and the softest and most luxuriant beauty—lies within the boundaries of Lancashire, the county whose name, perhaps beyond any other, suggests ideas widely apart from anything associated in our thoughts with the worship of the sublime and beautiful in nature.

The queen of our lakes, Windermere, is bounded on two-thirds of its circumference by a Lancashire shore. The smaller lake of Esthwaite, whose chief attractions are the irregularity of outline, formed by its green peninsular hillocks and its general air of placid beauty and repose, is entirely in Lancashire. Entirely in Lancashire, too, is Coniston Water, around the head of which are concentrated and combined, as I devoutly believe, more of the true elements of natural beauty than may be found within the same limited bounds in any other part of the world.

Lancashire also possesses numerous small sheets of water, varying from a mile to a hundred yards in length, and called "tarns." The situations of all of these are romantic and wild—in some instances almost inaccessible. Such are the lakes contained in that part of the Hundred of Lonsdale, distinguished as "North of the Sands," separated from the rest of the county by the great bay of Morecambe, and generally reckoned part of the lake country. It consists of the Lordship of Furness and the Parish of Cartmel. Furness has been described as an island, and called so by one of its old Abbots, from being surrounded, with the exception of a few yards at the water-shed, on the pass where the three counties meet, by river, lake and sea. It is divided into High and Low Furness, or Furness Fells and Furness Plain; and it is the mountainous part of Furness, rich in topographic and scenic, and not deficient in historic interest, that I propose to bring under the notice of this Society, in a short series of papers; and, taking its metropolis, humble as it is, as properly first, I shall devote this to the description and history of the town of Hawkshead.

Readers of Wordsworth will remember that in his principal poem, *The Excursion*, he relates that he first knew the pedler-hero of his narrative—

> In a little town obscure,
> A market-village, seated in a tract
> Of mountains, where my school-day time was passed.

The "little town obscure" was Hawkshead, which at the period of Wordsworth's youth was famous for its Grammar School.

Besides the late poet-laureate, another bard, one of a very different stamp, has honoured Hawkshead with his notice. Richard Braithwaite, author of that eccentric and witty doggerel, *Drunken Barnaby's Journal*, names it as one of the resting-places in his "Itinerary," thus—

Donec *Hauxide* specto sensem;
Illinc sedem *Lancastrensem.*

In the English version—

Thence to *Hauxide's* marish pasture;
Thence to th' seat of old *Lancaster.*

On this meagre passage one of Braithwaite's annotators remarks—"HAUXIDE.—This place, as well as a few others, "are only named to say 'farewell,' as though Barnaby made "no long tarrying therein. For these partial omissions it is "difficult to assign a reason, unless it may be conjectured "that it is not attributable to dearth of incident, but that "Braithwaite knew himself to be too intimately known in "the neighbourhood of particular towns to remain, if they "were described, long undiscovered as author of the poem." This is exceedingly probable;—Braithwaite, having relations resident at Hawkshead and his family-seat at no great distance, would be known there as a country gentleman of dignity and state, and could not wish to be identified with such a disreputable vagabond as he has left us in his "Drunken Barnaby." Amongst his *Remains after Death* the following occurs:—

Vpon the late Decease of my much-lamented friend and kinsman, Allen Nicholson, a zealous and industrious member of Church and Commonweal.

Hauxide laments thy death; *Grassmyre* not so,
Wishing thou had'st been dead ten years agoe,
For then her market had not been so done,
But had suruiu'd thy age in time to come;
And well may Hauxide grieue at thy departure,
Since she received from thee her ancient charter.

Except in the works of these two very dissimilar bards and of some merely local writers, Hawkshead, so far as I am aware, has no other place in literature. Its place in history

I shall notice hereafter. Meanwhile I may attempt a description of it as seen in our own time.

It is one of the smallest market towns in the kingdom, consisting of about eighty houses and about four hundred inhabitants. Its appearance is pretty accurately described by "A Gentleman," who made and published *A Tour from London to the Lakes in* 1791:—"A small market town, "where the houses seem as if they had been dancing a "country dance, but, being all out, had stood still where "the dance ended." That it is little altered in seventy years may be inferred from the following quatrain by a resident rhymer, not much known, describing its present appearance:

> A quaint old town is Hawkshead and an ancient look it bears.
> Its church, its school, its dwellings, its streets, its lanes and squares
> Are all irregularities—all angles, twists and crooks,
> With penthouses and gables over archways, wents and nooks.

Its squares are two, one of which may be called a square with all propriety. The other would defy a more able mathematician than I to define its figure. Of streets, accurately speaking, it possesses one, of varying contour, and width frequently and awkwardly encroached upon by gabled shops standing out at right angles to the roadway and houses, by aggressive corners, and by low upper stories projected far beyond the foundation line of the buildings. For the paucity of streets in Hawkshead, however, we are more than compensated by the number of its lanes, entries, wents, passages and "nooks." The most important of these last is called Grandy nook—that is, Grandmother's corner—the way through which, though it affords the only access to the parsonage and some other residences, has long offered a puzzle to the drivers of even single-horsed vehicles. Altogether it is not easy to imagine a town laid out in a more eccentric manner, or the same number of houses shaken or huddled together with less regard to order, arrangement or convenience; nor is it possible

to conceive anything more angularly irregular than its ground plan, or more rudely picturesque than the outlines of its walls, chimneys and roofs.

The situation of Hawkshead is singularly pleasant and cheerful. It lies at a short distance from the head of Esthwaite lake, on the north-western side of a fine valley, open to the north-east and south-west, and bounded on the western side by a long range of elevated moorlands, which separate it from the vales of Coniston, Grizedale and Dalepark; and on the east by a shorter extent of similar heights, dividing it from a part of Windermere.

The town has immediately on its western side a curious but very beautiful accumulation of glacier-formed hummocks (moraines), locally called "Hows." Equally immediately to the east it has the broad green meadows which form part of the floor of Esthwaite vale, and, becoming marshy near the lake, justify Drunken Barnaby in calling them Hawkshead's "marish pasture."

Notwithstanding its lack of shelter, or perhaps in consequence of the free sweep of the winds preventing the stagnation of vapours, miasmatic or otherwise, Hawkshead is remarkably salubrious, the death rate of the whole parish being under one per cent. per annum, or considerably less than one half the average rate of the whole kingdom.*

Instances of longevity are not infrequent, for octogenarians have been numerous, and nonogenarians not singular there. Of what the ratio of increase might be, were it not for emigration and other reducing causes, we may judge by the case of Prudence Nicholson, an old lady of eighty-two, who boasts a living progeny equal in numbers to the years of her life; and the case of another has been quoted, whose descendants at her death numbered 119.

* It has, however, of late years been visited with low fever of a mild type, occasioned, as is supposed, by the frequent inundation of the meadows.

Its name is stated by Mr. Ferguson to be derived from Hawkr, a Scandinavian proper name; while the late Dr. Whitaker, Vicar of Blackburn, who had a residence here, told me that it, as well as the local family name of Hawkrigg, must bear some reference to falconry. Like more of the reverend doctor's local etymologies, this derivation can hardly be accepted. I incline to the opinion that Mr. Ferguson may be right. It is very possible that some old Norse settler named Hawkr, or Auk, once possessed a *hide* of land there, and so left his name to the spot.

Hawskshead may fairly lay claim to a very respectable antiquity. There is reason to believe that it was a community and a chapelry at a date considerably anterior to the Norman Conquest. In the earliest annals of Furness Abbey we find it referred to as a place even then of some standing and importance, as I shall shew when I treat of its ecclesiastical and manorial affairs.

Perhaps the most interesting circumstance in the history of Hawkshead is that it was one of the stations selected for the mustering of recruits in that futile rising of 40,000 men called "The Pilgrimage of Grace" in 1537, which, as may be remembered, was instigated chiefly by the heads of the large religious houses after the smaller communities had been suppressed. Robert Aske, a gentleman of East Yorkshire, was the military chief of this insurrection; and his proclamation addressed to the people of Hawkshead ran as follows:—

> To the Commyns of Hawkside Parish, Bailiffs or Constables, with all the Hamletts of the same.
>
> Wel beloved, we greet you well; and whereas our brother Poverty, and our brother Roger goith forward, is openly for the aide and assistance of your faith and holy Church, and for the reformation of such abbeys and monasteries, now dissolved and suppressed without any just cause. Wherefore gudde brethers, forasmuch as our sayd brederyn hath send to us for aide and helpe, wee do not only effectually desire you, but also under the paine of

deadly sinne we commande you and every of you to be at the stoke green beside Hawkside Kirke, the Saturday next, being the xxviii day of October by xi of the clock in your best array; as you shall make answer before the heigh judge at the Dreadfull Day of Dome; and in the payne of pulling downe your houses, and leasing of your gudds, and your bodies to be at the Capteyn's will: for at the place aforesaid, then and there yee and wee shall take further directions concerning our faith, so farre decayed, and for gudde and laudable customes of the country and such naughty inventions and strange articles now accepted and admitted, so that our said brother bee subdued, they are lyke to go furtherwards to utter undoing of the Comynwealth.

"Our brother Poverty," named in this not very intelligible document, was a fisherman of Hawkshead, probably the leader of its contingent, who served as one of Aske's captains under the self-conferred title of the Earl of Poverty. "Our brother "Roger" was most probably Roger Pele, the last Abbot of Furness, who afterwards succeeded, by a somewhat abject submission, in making terms with the government, and so escaped the terrible fate of his neighbour abbots of Whalley and Salley, accepting the rectory of Dalton as compensation for the loss of his abbey. It is therefore probable his share in The Pilgrimage of Grace was condoned or overlooked by the authorities.

This is the only instance on record wherein Hawkshead has been honoured by having its name made prominent in a matter of national importance. Of its internal and domestic affairs we gain some curious glimpses from its Parish Register, in which, from its commencement in 1568 to the end of the next century, the clergymen seem to have recorded everything that occurred in the parish that was at all remarkable or uncommon. I give a few of these entries as being interesting, if meagre, sketches of the state of society in a little secluded community two hundred years ago. The first has a considerably earlier date.

1577, November.—In this month began the pestilent sickness in this p-ishe, which was brought in by one George Barwicke, whereof is deceased—those y^t^ are thus markt* [The number of burials so marked is thirty-eight, the same mark being prefixed to this entry.] *Anthony Dixson buried in Langdale last day of September and taken up again and brought to Hawkshead the XI day of January.

This is worthy of notice as a singular violation of a rule, if not a law, that forbade the disinterment of one who had died of plague, which, as the asterisk indicates, had been this man's fate.

Another entry fixes the age of the Friends' burial ground, which still exists at a short distance from the town.

1658 ffeb XI.—To day, one Agnes the wife of Edward Rigge de Hye Wray a Quaker which was buryet at Coulthouse in George Braithwaite's parke (?) the same being an intended burying place for that sect and she the first corps which was layde therein.

The next is somewhat ghastly in its details.

1664 Aprill ye 4th—That there was a man drownd in Thirston water† which was found casten upp att the Waterhead neare the yeate on the high waye who had layde soe long in the sayde water until the haire was com^d^ of his head, and his face was soe eaten and disfigured with fyshes, he beinge a stranger and not known by any was brought here to Hawkshead Church by a horse on a carr and buryed in his close in the church yard at the north syde of the schoole the day and year first mentioned and expressed.

In a former paper I called attention to the fact that serfdom was abolished in the north of England by the monks of Furness and other similar foundations at a very early period. A memorandum written at the beginning of the Hawkshead

† The ancient name of Coniston lake.

register would seem, however, to shew that traces of that old institution remained to a much later date than is generally supposed, inasmuch as a domestic servant appears to have had a troublesome form to observe ere she was allowed to leave her servitude, at a period so late as the middle of the 17th century.

Md—That the 13th day of June 1664 James ffisher of Amblesyde yeoman came to me with a certificate under the hands of Thomas Braithwaite of Hawkshead field and Richard Knipe of Coniston Constable and Bayliff, Patrick Parker and George Kirkby of Coniston aforesaide which declared unto me that Jane Nicolson late servant to William Sawrey of Coniston Waterhead hadd the free consente of her saide master to departe out of his service & soe left.

CHRISTOPH. EDMONDSON,
Pastor Ecc. æ
June 27 1664.

My next extract, which has already appeared in the newspapers, goes to prove that our ancestors had much more practical notions of making capital punishment a deterrent example than we can boast in our day.

1672 Aprill 8—Thomas Lancaster who for poysonninge his own family was Adjudgt att the Assizes at Lancaster to be carried back to his owne house at Hye Wray where he lived and was there hanged before his owne doore till he was dead for that very fact, & then was brought with a horse and a carr on to the Coulthouse meadows and forthwithe hunge oopp in Iron Chaynes on a Gibbet which was sett for that very purpose on the south syde of Sawrey Cassy neare unto the Pool Stang and there continued until such tymes as he rotted away bone for bone.

I may mention that the scene of this exhibition still bears the ill-omened name of "The Gibbet Moss."

The following is a tolerably graphic account of the damage done by a flood :—

Bee it remembered that upon the Tenth day of June att night in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred eightye and sixe; there was such a fearfull Thunder with fyre and rayne which occasioned such a terrible flood as the like of it was never seene in these parts by noe man liveinge; for it did throwe downe some houses and mills and tooke away several briggs and the water did run through houses and did much hurte to houses; besydes the water washt away great trees by the rootes and the becks and gills carried them with other great trees, stocks and stones a greater way of and layd them on mens ground; yea further the water did so fiercely run downe the hye-ways and made such deepe holes and ditches in them that att several places neither horse nor foote could passe; and besydes the becks and rivers did soe breake out of their wayes as they brought exceedinge great sandbeds into men's ground at many places which did great hurte as never the like was known, I pray God of his great mercy grante that none which is now living may ever see the like again.

The next relates a somewhat unpleasant casualty; but the richly quaint and matter of fact style in which the narrative is conveyed, gives it an irresistible claim to being copied and preserved.

1689 December 16 — Bernarde Swaineson, who was Edward Braithwaite's Apprentice went with William Stamper a greate while within nighte into William Braithwaite's shopp in Hawkshead for to beare him company a little; and at their meetinge these three younge youths were all very sober and in good health: and About Twelve o' the clocke o' the nighte they made a bett; that if this Bernard Swaineson could drinke of nyne noggins of brandy; then William Braithewaite and William Stamper was to pay

for them; but if Bernard fayled and could not drinke of nine noggins of brandye then he was to pay of his own charge for that he had dranke; now this Bernard dranke of these noggins of brandy quickly; and shortly after that fell downe upon the floore, and was straightwaye carried to his bed where hee layde four and Twenty houres; duringe which tyme he coulde never speake noe nor never did knowe any body though many came to see him and soe he dyed.

Sometimes it has been thought necessary to record the manner of death as well as the sepulture, as my two last excerpts will shew.

1691 May 15.—Clement Askew who was cutting downe a tree at Coniston Waterhead & slayne by the fall of it.

1697 Sept 16: James Braithwaite late of Crofthead did goe to the water-foote for a boate load of lyme-stone with William Braithwaite of Cunsie; and as he was cominge backe Agayne was drown'd in Windermere water; and three men that were with him by God's great mercy gott all out of the water and saved their lives; the boate which they were in being laden with lym stones was lost and did sinke into the bottom of the sayde water; and he was buryed the day of the month last mentioned.

With these specimens of the "short and simple Annals" of Hawkshead two hundred years ago I may close my extracts from the documentary history of the place; and, with regard to the town, I have only to add that James I granted letters patent to Adam Sandys, of Graythwaite, to establish a weekly market and certain fairs there. The quotation given already from Braithwaite's remains gives the credit of obtaining this charter to his kinsman Allen Nicholson, who might be in some minor degree instrumental in securing these privileges to Hawkshead;* but the original document so granting them

* Or, as the quotation says, "Ancient Charter," it may refer to the restoration of some old privileges lost by disuse.

to their ancestors, is still, I believe, preserved by the Sandys family at Graythwaite Hall.

So long as the Dale's people continued to spin their wool at home, these markets were of some importance. The women chiefly brought the yarn thither every Monday to sell to the manufacturers from Kendal and elsewhere, who attended for the purpose. That it was also a market for other varieties of produce, a curious proof came to light a few months ago. In clearing out the rubbish that had accumulated during many years in a building near the church, formerly used to shelter the parish hearse, two small but heavy and substantial vessels of bronze or bell metal were found. These were pronounced by some respectable authorities to be ancient sacramental vessels; but I agree in the opinion of certain others who hold them to be the standard quart and pint by which the measures used of old in the market had to be regulated. This is borne out by the capacities of the vessels, and the impress of a crown and the letters W.R., which also serve to fix their date. The large square of Hawkshead was formerly lined with open verandahs, or penthouses, to protect the market people from the rain, which falls both frequently and heavily there, and some of these remained until long after the market became little more than a name. The erection by subscription of a market house and town hall rendered these rude shelters unnecessary, even if the general adoption of spinning machinery had not, by causing the wool to be sold at home in the fleece, stopped the supply of the staple merchandise. A bequest by a benevolent lady provided a service in the church on the Monday forenoons, for the special benefit of the people coming to market, which, like the penthouses, was also maintained long after those for whose behoof it was provided ceased to avail themselves of it.

Hawkshead was originally a chapelry under Dalton and, as already stated, is believed to have existed at a very remote

date. In the earliest annals of Furness Abbey it is referred to as, even then, a place of some standing and importance. Thus between the years 1198 and 1200, we find that Honorius, Archdeacon of Richmond, granted the convent permission to celebrate mass at their private altars with wax candles, during an interdict; for which purpose he assigned the Chapelry of Hawkshead &c. to the monks.

And again, in 1219 the Abbot wished to relieve the inhabitants of Furness Fells, then increasing much in numbers, from the laborious necessity of carrying their dead for interment to the mother church at Dalton, upwards of twenty miles distant; but, being strongly opposed by the Vicars of Dalton and Urswick, at length made an appeal to the Papal court, when the Pope gave a commission to the Priors of St. Bees, Lancaster and Cartmel to enquire into and adjudge the case, which judgment was in favour of the Abbot and ordered the chapel yard at Hawkshead to be consecrated for sepulture. At the dissolution it appears that the income of this chapelry was nearly three times that of the Rectory of Dalton —was indeed worth more than the whole of Low Furness. It must be noted, however, that the chapelry included what constitutes now the parishes both of Hawkshead and Colton.

Hawkshead was made parochial in 1578 by Archbishop Sandys, a native of the chapelry. The present stipend, £150, arises from glebe lands, a warehouse in Friday Street in the City of London, and £20 paid by the different quarters or townships, Graythwaite Hall, and Graythwaite Low Hall, in lieu of small tithes, which were impropriated at the dissolution of the Abbey.

An interesting relic of the connection of Furness Abbey with the spiritual affairs of Hawkshead remains in the old building adjoining the farm offices of Hawkshead Hall—its archway forming the entrance to the farm yard. Of this

building Mr. Beck says—"Every mesne manor would also "have its hall and courthouse, but all have been removed or "remodelled by successive owners till that of Hawkshead "alone remains in its original state, though now degraded to "the offices of a farm house."*

Hawkshead Church is an ancient edifice without any architectural pretension. It is finely situated upon one of the knolls already alluded to, close to, or indeed in the town. In accordance with the rule applied to churches in mountainous districts it has a heavy square tower with no spire. The body of the church is a plain oblong, with windows varying greatly in form and dimensions, the centre of the roof being elevated so as to form a clerestory. Internally it consists of a nave and two aisles, defined by rows of massive pillars supporting Saxon arches. Originally the roof spanned the whole equally, the clerestory being formed in 1633. It is supported by heavy oaken beams, which the Church accounts shew to have cost, at the time they were put up, the very moderate sum of one shilling each.

The chief object of interest within the church is a large box tomb of stone, supporting two recumbent figures, male and female, in high relief, and showing, on a bevelled verge round the top, the following inscription :—

Conditur hoc tumulo Gulielmus Sandys, et Uxor
Cui Margaretta nomen et omen erat.
Armiger ille fuit perclarus regibus olim
Illa sed exemplar religionis erat.
Conjugii fuerant aequali sorte beati
Faelices opibus, stemmate prole fide,
Pignora divini fuerant haec et magna favoris
Haec tamen Edwini cuncta retundit honos,
Qui doctor rectorque scholae censor quoque presul
Ter fuerat merito Phœbus in orbe sacro
Quos amor et pietas lecto conjunxit eodem
Hos sub spe vitae continet iste lapis.

* *Annales Furnesienses.*

At the end is a shield bearing the family arms, with a crescent of distinction, shewing that Archbishop Sandys, who raised this fine monument to his parents, was their second (surviving) son. Also within the church there is a remarkable number of mural memorial tablets, a few of which are of considerable interest. The most ancient, also erected by a member of the Sandys family, bears a very beautiful lament or threnody in Latin.

Hoc monumentum
Mylo Sandys armiger
Filius natu maximus Samuelis
Sandys de Graythewethia generosus
Ab antiquâ nativitas familiâ
Oriundi erexit in memoriam
Pulchræ suæ sobolis in ipso vere
Juventæ morte oreuntis, viz. Samuelis
Bathshebæ, Elizabetæ, Catherina, et
Mylonis morti succumbentis decimo
Nono die Februarii Ano Domi 1698
Ætatis suæ nono.

Threnodia
In mortis victoriam
Mors fera terribili vultu pia corda virorum
Concutit, heu! nulli parcit avara manus
Falce metit, velut ense ferox bellator in armis
Illa rapit juvenes, mors rapit illa senes
Quaque ruit, furibunda ruit, non sanguinis ordo
Nec virtutis honos fata movere valet.
Nulla queat differe diem medicina statutum
Si mors dura jubet nescit habere ducem.

A small tablet of white marble, on the opposite wall, is raised to the memory of Miss Elizabeth Smith of Coniston, so celebrated for her scholastic acquirements; "on which," says De Quincey, "there is the scantiest record that, for a "person so eminently accomplished, I ever met with. After "mentioning her birth and age (twenty-nine), it closes thus— "'She possessed great talents, exalted virtues, and humble "'piety.' Anything so unsatisfactory or so commonplace, I "have rarely known." Again, the same writer says—"Had "it been possible for the world to measure her by her powers,

" rather than by her performances, she would have been " placed at the head of learned women ; whilst her sweet and " feminine character would have rescued her from all shadow " and suspicion of that reproach which too often settles upon " the learned character, when supported by female aspirants." This is indeed a wonderful meed of praise, coming from such a quarter.

The last that I shall notice is one of the most recent of these mural tablets, very handsome and elegant, in memory of the author of that splendid antiquarian work, *Annales Furnesiensis*, and inscribed—

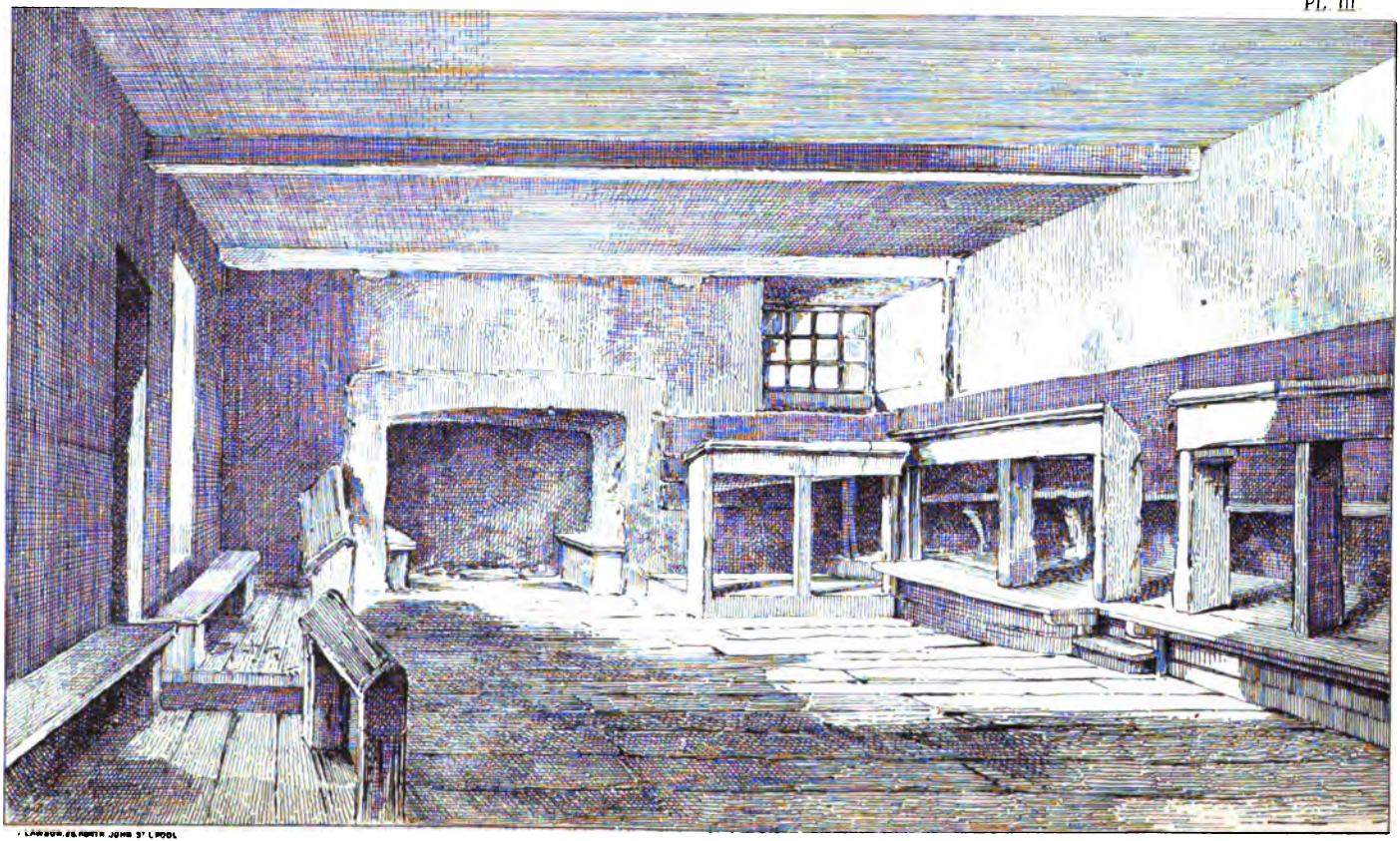
THOMAS ALCOCK BECK
De Esthwaite Lodge in hoc Parochia Armiger
Juxta boreale cœmeterii angulum
tumulatus jacet
qui
Antiquitatum indagator si quis alius felicissimus
Annales Furnesienses
summa elegantia composuit
in ipso literarum cursu adhuc occupatus
decessit XXIV die Aprilio anno inc. MDCCCXLVI
Æt. 51.

In the floor of the chancel is a brass plate bearing the following—

Here lies the body of Sir James Ramsey, Bart., late of Banff, in Perthshire, North Britain, who departed this life the 25th day of March, 1731, in the 83rd year of his age.

How a Scottish baronet so aged has come to die and be buried at a place so secluded and difficult of access as Hawkshead would then be, is not easy even to surmise. I have communicated with Sir George Ramsey, the present representative of that ancient family, on this subject. He expresses surprise at the information I give him, and says that the only

PL. III.



LAWSON, 28, NORTH JOHN ST. LIVOOL

INTERIOR VIEW OF HAWKSHEAD GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

clue to the mystery he can suggest, is that his great-grandfather, Sir John Ramsay, eldest son of this Sir James, being in difficulties, came to reside in England, and died at *or near* Kendal in 1738; and that, if such residence began during his father's lifetime, the latter may have made this long journey to visit him, and so died. I have had the registers searched at Kendal, Windermere, Ambleside, Grasmere and Hawkshead for some trace of Sir John Ramsey, but without success.

The tower of the church contains a peal of six bells, all inscribed with portions of a rhyme, irregularly distributed, and also with the names of founders and of donors, and dates. Thus the treble has—

Awake, arise, the day's restored,
Awake, arise, to praise the Lord,
Regard, look to, the peal I lead.
1765.

2nd—We to the first must take good heed.

3rd—The third place I take in the swing.
James Harrison, of Barrow, in Lincolnshire, Bell Founder, 1765.

4th—Pray mind the third when we do ring.

5th—In the fifth place I give my sound.
John Benson Esq., of Beetham, Westmoreland. Recast in 1810.
Glory to God in the highest.

6th—I close the peal, ring the bells round.
Mememto mori Myles Sandys Esq., Graythwaite Hall, 1765.

The great lion of Hawkshead, however, and what used to be its principal boast, is the Grammar School, which, after languishing for many years, is, under its present management, being gradually restored to its bygone glory and usefulness. It was founded in 1585 by Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, and endowed by him with house and land of the annual value of £50. In 1717 the Rev. Thomas

Sandys augmented the school. In 1731 George Satterthwaite, and in 1766 William Dennison, left certain sums of money for the maintenance of charity boys. On the 1st of April, 1588, the Archbishop published his statutes for the management of the school and for the disposal of the property granted for its maintenance; and these continued in force till the year 1832, when a new scheme was thought desirable. On the 12th of May, 1835, this scheme was approved by the Master in Chancery. Again, in 1862, application was made to the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales for power to alter the above named scheme; a commissioner was sent down to take evidence &c. &c., and a fresh scheme was sealed by the Commissioner on the 7th of August, 1863, making provision for an upper and lower school, for six foundation scholars in the one and eight in the other. All other children of resident inhabitants in the parish of Hawkshead to be charged not more than five shillings per quarter (the previous charge being two shillings and sixpence) in the lower school and one guinea per quarter in the upper.

The paternal anxiety of the venerable founder for the continued well-doing of his school is remarkably evinced in the statutes he framed for its management and regulation. One or two of these I shall give here, as translated in Abingdon's *Antiquities of Worcester Cathedral*,* published in 1717.

> V. Also I ordain and constitute that the s^d^ Schoolmaster of the said School and his successors for ever shall have under him one usher in the aforesaid School, to be an usher in the said School to teach such children and Scholars in the said School, of the lowest forms, as to him shall be appointed by the said School-master and his Successors. . . . And if the aforesaid Schoolmaster

* In a biographical notice of Sandys, who was Bishop of Worcester and afterwards of London, before he became Archbishop of York.

shall fortune to die, then the Usher of the said School, for the time being, shall teach the said scholars in the said School, as Master thereof, until there be a Schoolmaster placed in the said room and office.

IX. Ordains the deposition of the master should he commit Treason, Murder or Felony.

XIII. Ordains that the Usher be obedient to the Master; and the Scholars shall be of honest and vertuous conversation, obedient to the master and Usher in all things touching good Manners and Learning both in the School and elsewhere, and shall continually use the Latin Tongue or Greek Tongue within the School as they shall be able. Also they shall use no weapons in the School, as Sword, Dagger, Waster or other like, to fight or brawl withal, nor any unlawful gaming in the School. They shall not haunt Taverns, Alehouses, or play at any unlawful Games, as Cards, Dice, Tables, or such like &c. &c.

XIX. Ordains that one strong and substantial chest, with three strong locks and keys, of three several fashions and makings to the same, be made and placed in some convenient place in the aforesaid Schoolhouse; in which chest shall be kept the Queen's Majesty's Letters patent, containing the Foundation of the said Free Grammar School, and all the Evidences, Charters, Writings, Rescripts, Muniments, Constitutions and Ordinances touching, concerning, appertaining and belonging to the said Grammar School or to the lands &c. of the School.—And that the Schoolmaster and his successours for the time being shall have the keeping of one of the said three keys; and the two first-named Governours of the foresaid School for the time being and their successours to have either of them one of the said keys in their custody, so as the said chest may not be opened without the consent of all the said three persons.

The chest thus ordered is still in existence, and from its appearance would seem to have been made immediately after the Archbishop's ordinance to that effect was issued. It is very rudely formed of a solid block of oak—the cavity dug out of the central part of the upper surface and the lid fastened down by three heavy straps of iron, which are secured by the same number of padlocks, the keys of which are kept by the master and the two senior governors, as prescribed. The number of documents &c. it holds is about fifty.

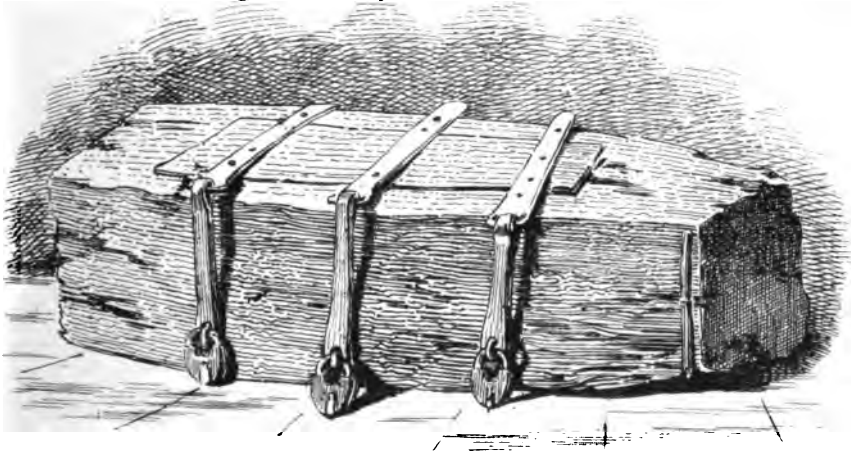
The school possesses another curiosity in its antique seal. It bears a pedagogue in a flat cap, neck ruff, and long gown, seated in a chair and armed with a rod, hearing the lesson of a pupil beside him. Over his head is a scroll bearing the motto, "Docendo Discimus;" over which is a mitre bearing a crescent between two stars. To the right are the archiepiscopal arms, and to the left the Sandyses' family arms. Round the whole—"Sigillum liberæ scholæ grammaticæ Edwyni "Sandes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi fundatoris."

A tablet over the entrance of the school records the renovation of the building by another native of the parish of very different pursuits, he being a citizen and vintner of London. It bears this intimation—

Memoriæ Reverendi D.D. Edwini
Sandys Ebor. olim Archiepiscopi
Scholæ Hujus Fundatoris
Daniel Rawlinson civis Lond.
Graisdalia com. Lanc. Oriundus
posuit
Anno Domini
1675.

The school library contains about 1,080 volumes, and amongst them the Archbishop's own folio Bible, of date 1572, thus inscribed—"Arch. B.P. Sandys' Bible which he used

HAWKSHEAD GRAMMAR SCHOOL SEAL.



OAK CHEST CONTAINING THE CHARTER OF
HAWKSHEAD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

J. Lawson 26 North John St

"in his own family, and of which he was one of the tran-"slators. *V. Collins's Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol ii, 154." (The portions of the Bible translated by Archbishop Sandys were the books of Kings and Chronicles.) The library also includes a quarto edition of *Chaucer* of 1561; *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1617; *Fox's Martyrs*, 1641; *Purchas his Pilgrims*, 1625; *Poole's Synopsis*, 1669; and many other books of standard value and ancient date. It was founded by the above-named Daniel Rawlinson, who gave several books and incited others to follow his example; and in 1669 gave £100 to be applied in diverse manners to the purposes of the school. The Rev. Thomas Sandys and the Rev. William Wilson left certain sums to be laid out in books; and in 1789 Thomas Bowman, A.M., then master, added considerably to the library, and proposed that each scholar should pay to it five shillings per annum, and, on leaving school, present any book or books he might choose. This was carried out for a time but has fallen into disuse, the only book known to have been presented to the library since Mr. Bowman's death, in 1829, being a copy in sheets of Valpy's Greek Lexicon, quarto.

The following is a list of the masters since the foundation of the school, with their dates of appointment, as painted on a board hung up in the library:—

Peter Magson, A.M.	April 10	1585
Francis Magson		1616
William Bordley		1647
James Bownes		1669
Myles Sawrey	August 1	1671
John Sadler	August 19	1672
Robt. Myers	August	1691
Robt. Bullfill	January	1693
Jos. Hunter, A.M.	January	1717
Strickland Shepherd, A.M.	April 10	1726
Richard Dixon, A.M.	June 3	1736

Christopher Hall, A.M.	July 26	1745
Lancelot Docker, A.M.		1756
Richard Hewitt, A.M.		1758
James Peake, A.M., St. John's, Cambridge		1766
Edward Christian, A.M., St. John's, Cambridge		1781
W. Taylor, A.M., Emanuel College, Cambridge		1781
Thos. Bowman, A.M., Trinity College, Cambridge		1786
Daniel Bamfield Hickie, LL.D.		1829
Haygarth Taylor Baines, A.M., Christ's College, Cambridge		1862

Being twenty masters during the two hundred and eighty years the school has existed.

I shall treat of the strictly rural parts of the parish of Hawkshead in a future essay.

ON BRITISH SILVER MILITARY WAR-MEDALS.

By J. Harris Gibson Esq.

(Read 12th January, 1865.)

The object of this evening's paper is not to tell over again the many victories which have been won by British arms since medals were first awarded; but simply to notice the medals themselves, descriptively and with regard to classification. I shall therefore proceed with the few remarks I intend to make according to the following arrangement:—

Medals or honorary distinctions granted to British soldiers by Charles I and the Protector.

The Peninsular medal.

Waterloo.

Medals given for Actions and Campaigns in India, closing with the Mutiny, 1857-8.

The China Wars of 1842 and 1860.

The Kaffir War.

The Crimean Campaign.

Medals for long service, meritorious and distinguished conduct.

It is not certain that many of the medals of Queen Elizabeth and James I, which are known to exist, were actually granted to be worn as military or naval decorations; though, from their character and appearance, I think we may infer that they were originally intended to be worn as badges commemorative of some great military or naval achievement.

Their oval form, and the fact that they have either loops or rings attached to them, would seem to lead to no other conclusion. But as so little is known of the early history of our military medals, I will leave them, with the hope that some abler pen may some day remove the obscurity in which they at present remain, and pass on to those which claim our more immediate attention.

The first medal of which we have any authentic account, as having been conferred by royal favour and worn as a military decoration, was granted by King Charles I, in 1643, to soldiers who distinguished themselves in forlorn hopes. The badge was of silver and represented His Majesty and Prince Charles.

It is also recorded that an especial mark of favour was conferred upon one Robert Walsh (who commanded a troop of horse at the battle of Edge Hill, 1642), for recovering the King's colours taken by the enemy and capturing two pieces of cannon; he received the honour of knighthood from the King, who commanded that a medal of gold should be made, which decoration Walsh afterwards received.

On the 3rd September, 1650, Cromwell's army defeated the Scots at Dunbar: for this service it was ordered that silver medals should be given to each of the officers and men. These medals, which are oval, have on the obverse the bust of Cromwell in armour; behind the bust is a distant representation of his army; above is the legend :—

WORD AT DUNBAR.	THE LORD OF HOSTS.	SEPT. 3RD, 1650.

The reverse represents the interior of the Parliament House—the members are sitting, with the Speaker at their head. There are two sizes of this medal: the larger, in all probability, was given to those in command, the smaller to the common or private soldier.

The Dunbar medal was engraved by Thomas Simon, who

was sent into Scotland to consult Cromwell upon the design furnished by the Committee for the army.*

However, the practice of bestowing honorary distinctions for services in the many naval and military operations of our country is but of recent date. It is only a few years since a general order was granted for the distribution of medals to those surviving officers and men of both services who took part in the long protracted wars between this country and France, America and the hostile nations of India—from the declaration of war with France, in 1793, to the triumphal entry of Wellington into Toulouse, April 12th, 1814, and the siege and storming of Bhurtpore, January, 1826.

This extraordinary delay, *or unpardonable neglect*, on the part of those high in authority, caused no little disappointment among those who considered that they should be the recipients of some distinguishing badge or order of merit, to be worn not only in commemoration of gallant achievements, but as a reward for their faithful and long professional services.

It is well known—for much publicity was given to the fact—that the "old Peninsular Men," the heroes of Assaye and Laswarree, and the gallant tars who fought at St. Vincent, the Nile, Copenhagen and Trafalgar, had no medals. Every likely opportunity was made use of to stimulate a tardy Government. The accession of William IV, for example, brought forth a plentiful correspondence. It was recommended that—"The army and navy should unite and humbly "and respectfully request one of the royal dukes to solicit from "His Most Gracious Majesty a boon for both services at the "beginning of the reign; that he would bestow an order of "merit upon all officers and men who have fought the battles

* Col. Mac Kinnon, in his *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, speaks of the medal as having been struck in gold. He says—"Parliament voted "the officers and men which did this excellent service should be presented with "gold and silver medals."

"of their country." The writer goes on to say—"It is very "vexatious to honourable feelings, when we go into society "at home and abroad, to meet foreigners of nearly all nations "covered with medals and orders, when we, who have had the "pleasure of licking them in every part of the world, have "neither orders nor medals."

The seven years of King William's reign passed away; the ranks of those old warriors, the survivors of a hundred fights, gave way before the irresistible march of Time; they who had so successfully contended with the combined fleets of France and Spain, who had upheld the supremacy of British arms in the East, and taught Napoleon's marshals so terrible a lesson, had at last to yield to the universal conqueror, with no mark of their glorious services, except the honourable scars obtained by their own bravery on the field of battle.

It was not until the 1st of June, 1847 (the date of the general order), that Her Most Gracious Majesty granted silver medals, with clasps for the victories enumerated on the opposite page.

The clasp for the war in Egypt, ending 1801, was not included in the general order of the 1st June, 1847; but was afterwards granted under an order dated 12th February, 1850, *to those who were still alive and had served with the army in that war.*

The medal was struck from a design by W. Wyon, R.A., and represents Her Majesty in the act of crowning, with a victor's wreath of laurel, Field-marshal Wellington, who kneels before her. The legend is—"To THE BRITISH ARMY;" and in the exergue, 1793-1814. The obverse is a beautiful and well designed diademed head of Victoria; underneath is the year 1848, the date of issue; the legend reads—"VICTORIA REGINA." It is worn with a crimson ribbon, edged with blue. The medals vary only in the clasps or bars attached, and are to be found with from one to fourteen to

	Battle.	Country in which the Battle was fought.	Date of Battle.	British Commander in Chief.	General Commanding the Enemy.
1.	Maida	Calabria	July 4, 1806	Major-Gen. Sir J. Stewart	Gen. Regnier.
2.	Roleia	Portugal	August 17, 1808	Lt.-Gen. Sir A. Wellesley	G. Laborde.
3.	Vimiera	Portugal	August 21, 1808	Lt.-Gen. Sir A. Wellesley	Marshal Junot.
4.	Sahagun Benevente	Spain*	December, 1808 January, 1809	Lord Paget, afterwards Marquess of Anglesea	Debelle. L. Desonettes.
5.	Corunna	Spain	January 16, 1809	Sir John Moore	Marshal Soult.
6.	Martinique *(Attack and capture.)*	West Indies	February, 1809	Lt.-Gen. Beckwith	
7.	Talavera	Spain	July 27 and 28, 1809	Sir A. Wellesley	Marshals Victor & Sebastiani
8.	Guadaloupe *(Attack and capture.)*	West Indies	January and February, 1810	Sir Geo. Beckwith	
9.	Busaco	Portugal	September 27, 1820	Lord Wellington	Massena, Ney and Regnier.
10.	Barrossa	Spain	March 5, 1811	Lt.-Gen. Sir T. Graham	Marshal Victor.
11.	Fuentes d'Onor	Spain	May 5, 1811	Lord Wellington	Marshal Massena.
12.	Albuera	Spain	May 16, 1811	Marshal Beresford	Marshal Soult.
13.	Java *(Attack and capture.)*	Eastern Archipelago	August, 1811	Lt.-Gen. Auchmuty	Gen. Janssens (Dutch).
14.	Ciudad Rodrigo *(Assault and capture.)*	Spain	January and February, 1812	Lord Wellington	
15.	Badajoz *(Assault and capture.)*	Spain	March 11 and April 16, 1812	Lord Wellington	Gen. Viellande.
16.	Salamanca	Spain	July 22, 1812	Lord Wellington	Marshal Marmont.
17.	Fort Detroit *(Capture.)*	North America	August, 1812	Major-Gen. Brock	Gen. Hull.
18.	Vittoria	Spain	June 21, 1813	Lord Wellington	Jos. Bonaparte, Ml. Jourdan.
19.	Pyrenees	Series of engagements	July 22 to August 2, 1813	Wellington	Marshal Soult.
20.	San Sebastian *(Assault and capture.)*	Spain	August and September, 1813	Wellington	
21.	Chateauguay	North America	October 26, 1813	Major-Gen. De Wattville	Gen. Hampton.
22.	Nivelle	France	November 10, 1813	Wellington	Marshal Soult.
23.	Chrystler's Farm	North America	November 11, 1813	Lt.-Col. Morrison	Major-Gen. Boyd.
24.	Nive	France	December 9 to 13, 1813	Generals Hill and Beresford	Marshal Soult.
25.	Orthes	France	February 27, 1814	Wellington	Marshal Soult.
26.	Toulouse	France	April 10, 1814	Wellington	Marshal Soult.
27.	Egypt		1801	Sir Ralph Abercrombie	

* Cavalry actions.

each medal, according to the number the recipient was entitled to, whose name and regiment are indented on the edge.

As regards the rarity of the Peninsular medal a few words may be added. It is very difficult to meet with medals having more than eight or nine bars; and should any of those have on them inscribed what may be denominated, "rare "actions," the value of the medal is greatly enhanced. Fort Detroit, Chateauguay, Chrystler's Farm—all North American achievements—are extremely rare, as also is the clasp for the cavalry actions of Sahagun and Benevente, in the Peninsula. The bars for Egypt, Maida, Martinique, Guadaloupe and Java are also scarce; the rest are not uncommon.

WATERLOO will be for ever associated with the name of Wellington; it ended a war which was a series of victories to British arms, and exalted him to high rank and honour. It was the beginning of a lasting peace which brought prosperity to England and yielded many years of enjoyment to the victorious general.

It was at the suggestion of the great Duke that silver medals were awarded to every officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier who was present in the field during the 16th, 17th and 18th days of June, 1815.

In the *London Gazette* of the 23rd April, 1816, the following notification appeared:—

"MEMORANDUM.

"Horse Guards, March 10, 1816.

"The Prince Regent has been graciously pleased, in the name and "on the behalf of His Majesty, to command that in commemoration of "the brilliant and decisive victory of Waterloo, a medal shall be "conferred upon every officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier, "present upon that memorable occasion.

"His Royal Highness has further been pleased to command, that "the ribband issued with the medal shall never be worn but with the "medal suspended to it."

"By command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent,

"FREDERICK,

"Commander in-chief."

The obverse of this medal is a laureated head of H.R.H. the Prince Regent, with the legend—"GEORGE P. REGENT." The reverse is a figure of Victory, seated; holding in her right hand a palm branch and in her left a sprig of olive—emblems of the victorious achievement and the peace which followed: underneath is inscribed the word "WATERLOO;" and in the exergue "JUNE 18, 1815;" above is the immortal name of WELLINGTON.

The Waterloo medal is worn with a crimson ribbon, edged with blue—precisely the same as that worn with the Peninsular medal, but broader.

We now come to an exceedingly interesting series of medals, awarded for services in India, from the war with Tippoo Sultan to the Sepoy mutiny, 1857-58, including the campaign in Persia, 1857.

Hyder Ali's death and the subsequent treaty of peace with his son Tippoo Saib, in 1784, terminated a prolonged and harassing war. It appears that the supreme Government at Calcutta was not long in awarding a medallic badge: for in the same year we find that the Company's troops received a silver medal in commemoration of good service. The reverse has inscribed, in the Persian language—"Presented by the "Calcutta Government, in memory of good service and in-"trepid valour, A.D. 1784. Mohammedan Era, 1199." The legend, which is also Persian, may be rendered into English thus:—"Like the coin, may it endure long in the world; and "the exertions of those lion-hearted Englishmen of great "name, victorious from Hindostan to the Deccan, become "exalted." The obverse of the medal represents Britannia seated, holding forth a wreath towards a fortress which is in the distance.*

The readers of Indian military history must be familiar

* Of these medals there are two sizes, the larger having been awarded to officers only.

with England's brilliant successes and consequent gradual acquisition of territory. The war with Tippoo, in 1791-2, ended in his signal defeat, which completely for a time paralyzed his power and checked his ambitious designs, deprived him of half his kingdom and obliged him to a humiliating submission. This war earned for Lord Cornwallis and the soldiers he directed a universal tribute of applause.*

The event is commemorated by a silver medal, distributed by the Indian Government to the Company's troops. The obverse represents a Sepoy in the military costume of the time, viz.: piqued hat, red jacket and bare legs; the figure is erect, and holds in his right hand the English flag; in his left is the Mysore banner reversed; behind is a distant view of the fortress of Seringapatam.† The reverse is inscribed—"FOR SERVICES IN MYSORE, A.D. 1791-1792." The legend, which is Persian, signifies the same, and that the medal was given by the English Government.

At mid-day on the 4th of May, 1799, the fortress of Seringapatam was taken by storm, after a month's siege, conducted by Lieut.-General Harris; Tippoo Sultan, the Englishman's implacable and cruel enemy, perished; and his palace, containing much treasure, together with immense supplies of military stores and ordnance, fell into our possession. The medal, which was struck in gold, silver, bronze and tin,‡ has on the obverse a victorious lion standing over a prostrate tiger—significant of the British triumph over the terrible ruler of Mysore; above is unfolded the British flag, having on it an Arabic inscription, "THE "LION OF GOD IS THE CONQUEROR;" Exergue—"IV MAY, "MDCCXCIX." The reverse represents the storming of the citadel; above is the sun shining in full splendour, indicating

* See *British Conquests in India*, Horace St. John.

† Of these medals there are two sizes, the larger having been awarded to officers only.

‡ Carter's *Medals of the British Army*.

the time; Exergue in Persian "The Fort of Seringapatam, "the gift of God, 4th May, 1799."

With the present century began a long series of military operations, which followed each other in quick succession. The Mahratta war gained for Sir Arthur Wellesley a noble name, as it records his first great and decisive victory at Assaye, September 23rd, 1803. In the same year General Lake gained an important victory at Laswarree, which destroyed Scindia's power in Northern India; a month later and Wellesley had won the battle of Argaum. Again, in the following year, 1804, Lake brought the Mahrattas to an engagement, Holkar was completely routed, and the fortress of Deig taken by storm. The war in Nepaul, ending in 1816, was followed by a second campaign against the Mahrattas, conducted by Generals Hislop, Malcolm, and Sir Lionel Smith, and terminated after the great battle of Maheidpore, December, 1817.

Hostilites commenced against the King of Ava in the year 1824, General Sir A. Campbell commanding the united forces. After a two years' campaign the sovereign of Burmah was compelled to sue for peace upon any terms. Again, on the 18th January, 1826, the fortress of Bhurtpore, the stronghold of the usurper, Durgoon-Sal, succumbed to the prowess of British arms; Lord Combermere, who directed the siege and assault, on the 6th of February following ordered the fortifications to be entirely demolished.

We have seen but a brief outline of the glorious achievements inscribed by the hand of Victory on the page of Indian military history; we have followed the march of our illustrious countrymen, from Assaye's well-fought field to the complete success attending the operations before the almost impregnable fortress of Bhurtpore; we have now only to observe that the surviving few who participated in the first-named victory, did not receive the decoration until after a lapse of *eight and forty years.*

The siege and storm of Bhurtpore completes the list of distinguished services for which it pleased Her Most Gracious Majesty, under the general order dated 21st March, 1851, "to "signify her assent to a measure proposed by the Honourable "East India Company, for granting honorary distinctions to "the surviving officers and soldiers of the Crown, who were "engaged in India." The following is a list of battles &c. for which medals with clasps have been granted :—

Storm of Allighur, 4th September, 1803.
Battle of Delhi, 11th September, 1803.
Battle of Assaye, 23rd September, 1803.
Siege of Asseer Ghur, 21st October, 1803.
Battle of Laswarree, 1st November, 1803.
Battle of Argaum, 29th November, 1803.
Siege and Storm of Gawilghur, 15th December, 1803.
Defence of Delhi, October, 1804.
Battle of Deig, 13th November, 1804.
Capture of Deig, 23rd December, 1804.
War in Nepaul, in 1816
Battle of Kirkee, } November, 1817.
Battle and Capture of Poona, }
Battle of Seetabuldee, } Nov. and Dec., 1817.
Battle and capture of Nagpoor, }
Battle of Maheidpore, 21st December, 1817.
Defence of Corygaum, 1st January, 1818.
War in Ava, 1824 to 1826.
Siege and Storm of Bhurtpore, January, 1826.

The obverse of the medal is the usual head of Victoria, with the legend, "VICTORIA REGINA;" the reverse shows a figure of Victory seated, holding in her right hand a laurel branch; in her left a victor's wreath; at her feet is arranged a trophy of arms, behind which rises a palm tree; above the group are the words—"TO THE ARMY OF INDIA;" Exergue, 1799—1826. The medal is worn with a pale blue ribbon.

Before proceeding to notice the medals which follow in order, it may be as well to introduce here the Honourable East India Company's medals, awarded for the capture of Java and the conquest of Burmah.

The medal given by the East India Company to the native troops, for their assistance in capturing the Island of Java from the Dutch, represents a Sepoy regiment carrying Fort

Cornelis by storm: the fort is being blown up; on the flagstaff is seen the British flag over the Dutch; above is the word "CORNELIS." The reverse, which is inscribed in Persian, reads in English:—"This medal is presented in commemoration "of the valour and courage displayed by the Sepoys of the "Honourable East India Company, in the conquest of Java, "1228 Mohammedan Era." The legend, which is in English, is—"JAVA CONQUERED, XXVI AUGUST, MDCCCXI."

The medal for the first Burmese war, distributed only to the Company's troops, represents the white elephant of Ava, in an attitude of submission, crouching before the lion of England; behind the lion is the Union Jack unfurled; behind the elephant is the drooping flag of Burmah. On the reverse, the troops are advancing towards a pagoda, enclosed within a stockade, a steamer and force of boats have commenced the attack from the river Irrawaddy, which flows past; in the foreground is the English general, directing operations.

We now approach a period nearer our own times, when medals for distinguished services were granted almost immediately after the close of a successful campaign or the gaining of an important victory. Thus, on the 30th August, 1839, about a month after the British army, under Sir J. Keane, had captured the fortress of Ghuznee, H.M. Shah Shoojah intimated his intention to confer medals on all the troops there employed, as a mark of the high estimation in which he held their gallantry. The decoration was soon after distributed to the soldiers of the Crown, when permission had been granted by Her Majesty for the same to be worn.

The medal, though rather small, is made of excellent silver, and presents, on the obverse, a view of the citadel, with the name "GHUZNEE" underneath; on the reverse, within a wreath of laurel, is a mural crown, with the date, "23RD JULY," above and "1839" below. The recipient's name is generally engraven on the centre, which is left plain for that purpose. It is attached to the breast by a crimson and green ribbon.

The medal for Jellalabad modestly records the glories of Sir Robert Sale and his invincible garrison. In this instance as "in the brave days of old," the gallant defenders of the fortress received a mural crown. The Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, in recognition of the valuable services displayed by the garrison and their commander, ordered that silver medals should be presented to each. The medal has upon the obverse a mural crown, with the word "JELLALABAD" above; on the reverse is the date of the victory—"VII APRIL, "1842." The ribbon, which is of a rainbow pattern, was first introduced to be worn with this medal as the military ribbon of India.

The decoration known as the Second Jellalabad Medal was issued by our own Government. It was intended to be worn instead of that granted by the Honourable East India Company; but we may infer, from its great scarcity, that few availed themselves of the offer of exchange. It represents a figure of Victory, flying over the fortress of Jellalabad, with the Union Jack in her left hand, her right hand holding laurel wreaths; above are the words "JELLALABAD, VII APRIL." Exergue—"MDCCCXLII;" obverse—head of Victoria; legend—"VICTORIA VINDEX." It is worn with the military ribbon of India.

To the defenders of the fortress of Kelat-i-Ghilzie Lord Ellenborough also awarded a silver medal. Upon the obverse of this medal is a mural crown and shield, inscribed with the words "KELAT-I-GHILZIE;" upon the reverse is a trophy of arms, with the word "INVICTA," and the date, "MDCCCXLII" underneath. Military ribbon of India.

The medals for Candahar, Ghuznee and Cabul, mark the triumphant advance and complete success of the avenging armies under Generals Nott and Pollock. The treachery of the Affghans and the fearful massacre which followed are all too well remembered to be here repeated; it will be sufficient

therefore to observe, in the words of Lord Ellenborough, that "they have, in one short campaign, been avenged upon every "scene of past misfortune." No less than five distinct medals are included in this distribution, viz.—for

CANDAHAR—to soldiers engaged with the enemy from 1st January to the 10th August, 1842.

CANDAHAR AND GHUZNEE—when the same person was present at both only.

GHUZNEE AND CABUL—from the 6th September to the 16th and following days.

CANDAHAR, GHUZNEE AND CABUL—to the soldiers present during the whole campaign.

CABUL—to those who reached that place subsequent to the 16th September, 1842.

Excepting for Ghuznee and Cabul, the design for these medals is alike; the name "CANDAHAR" &c. &c. is inscribed within a laurel wreath, surmounted by a crown, with the date, 1842, below; that for Ghuznee and Cabul being inscribed within a double wreath of laurel, with crown and date, 1842. On the obverse is the usual head of Victoria, with the legend, "VICTORIA VINDEX." It is worn with the military ribbon of India.

The medals granted for the victories of Meeanee and Hyderabad commemorate the success of Sir Charles Napier in his conquest of the Scinde, and the unflinching bravery of the 22nd Regiment. The reverse of the medal has the words "MEEANEE and HYDERABAD" inscribed within a circle of laurel leaves; above is a crown, and below the date, 1843. The medal awarded to the soldier who served only at the battle of Meeanee is inscribed "MEEANEE" alone. The same may be said of the soldier who was present only at Hyderabad: his medal is inscribed "HYDERABAD" alone. Obverse—head of Victoria; legend—"VICTORIA REGINA." It is worn with the military ribbon of India.

MAHARAJPOOR AND PUNNIAR.—The first division of the army, under Sir Hugh Gough, completely defeated the Mahrattas on the 29th December, 1843, at Maharajpoor. On the same day, Major-General Grey, with the second division, utterly routed a strong Mahratta force at Punniar. Lord Ellenborough ordered that decorations in the form of "stars" should be made from the captured guns, and presented to the officers and men of both divisions. The star is of six points, and made of bronze: it is studded with a smaller star of silver, on the face of which is inscribed "29 DEC.," encircled by the word "MAHARAJPOOR, 1843." The word "PUNNIAR, "1843," encircles the date "29 DEC." on the star given to the second division of the army. They are worn with the Indian ribbon.

The Sutlej campaign, or first Sikh war, 1845-46, introduces the great battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshurhur, Aliwal, and Sobraon. As they are still in the recollection of most people, it would be superfluous on this occasion to again describe the bravery of British soldiers, or applaud the already exalted names of Gough, Hardinge, Smith &c. The medal, which is a beautiful example of the die-sinker's art, represents a figure of Victory, in an upright position, holding in her right hand, which is extended, a victor's wreath, her left supporting a palm branch; at the feet of the figure is a trophy of arms. The legend is—"ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ;" and in the exergue "1845" or "1846," together with the name of the first engagement the soldier was present at who received the medal. If a soldier was present at only one of the four actions, the decoration was awarded to him without a clasp or bar, the name of such action being inscribed in the exergue of the medal; but if the same person served with the army in more battles than one, for such he received, with his medal, one, two, or three bars, having in inscription the names of the victories he took part in; for example—the 9th Lancers,

present only at Sobraon, received the medal without a clasp—the name "SOBRAON, 1846," being in exergue. The 53rd Foot, present only at Aliwal and Sobraon, received the medal with one clasp—"ALIWAL" being in exergue, and clasp for "SOBRAON." The 31st Foot, present at Moodkee, Ferozeshurhur, Aliwal, and Sobraon (the whole campaign), received the medal with three clasps—"MOODKEE, 1845," being in exergue. Obverse—head of Victoria; legend—"VICTORIA "REGINA." The ribbon for this medal is blue, edged with crimson.

The siege of Mooltan and battles of Chillianwala and Goojerat (which completely destroyed the Sikh power in the Punjaub, and subjected the whole of Dhuleep Singh's dominions to British rule) are known as the Punjaub campaign, or second Sikh war, for which silver decorations have been granted. The reverse of the medal represents the surrender of the whole Sikh army. Lord Gough, who is on horseback, and in front of the British army, drawn up in line, is in the act of receiving from the conquered enemy their arms and appointments: above are the words "TO THE ARMY OF THE "PUNJAUB." Exergue—"MDCCCXLIX." Obverse as usual. Ribbon—blue with narrow stripes of yellow.

The medal for the second Burmese war, 1852, next claims our attention. Again did our brave soldiers convince the enemy of Britain's might, by signally defeating him upon his own territory. The result of this campaign was the annexation of Pegu to our Indian possessions. On the obverse of this medal is a figure of Victory, crowning with a wreath of laurel a nude figure of a soldier, seated, and holding in his right hand the Roman *gladius*; his left holding the sheath. The lotus flower is in the exergue. There is neither date nor legend; the only distinguishing mark is on the clasp, which is inscribed "PEGU." Ribbon—alternate stripes of scarlet and blue.

The medal for the Persian campaign of 1857 is similar to the preceding, excepting that the clasp is inscribed "PERSIA." Obverse the same and ribbon the same.

The ever-memorable mutiny of the Sepoy regiments in the service of the Honourable East India Company brings this part of my paper to a close. The desperate resistance offered by Colonel Inglis and his little band of the 32nd Regiment, in the defence of Lucknow, is almost without a parallel in the history of the past. Who shall forget this horrible rebellion, and the mighty efforts made by Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Henry Havelock for its suppression? The clasps attached to the mutiny medal are inscribed—"DEFENCE "OF LUCKNOW," "RELIEF OF LUCKNOW," "LUCKNOW," "DELHI," and "CENTRAL INDIA." The medal represents Britannia distributing wreaths of laurel; behind is the figure of the British lion; above is the word "INDIA;" exergue—"1857-1858." Obverse—head of Victoria; legend—"VICTORIA REGINA." Ribbon—alternate stripes of scarlet and white.

There are other medals granted by the Honourable East India Company, viz.:—

For Ceylon, 1795-96.
H. E. I. C.'s expedition to Egypt, 1801.
War in Nepaul, 1815-16.
Ceylon Forlorn Hope, 1817-18.
Order of British India.
Order of Merit.

The medal for the China war of 1842, awarded both to the army and navy, has upon the reverse an oval shield of arms, behind which is a palm tree; to the right of the shield is arranged a field-piece, together with military arms and accoutrements; to the left is a piece of naval ordnance, an anchor, a capstan &c., over which is the Union Jack; above are the words "ARMIS EXPOSCERE PACEM;" exergue—"CHINA,

"1842." Obverse—head of Victoria; legend—"VICTORIA "REGINA." Ribbon—crimson, edged with yellow.

The medal for the late war in China, ending 1860, is the same in design, the date, "1842," being omitted; but in addition to the medal, clasps were awarded for the different operations in which our soldiers were engaged. The clasps are inscribed—"CANTON, 1857," "TAKU FORTS, 1860," and "PEKIN, 1860." An additional clasp was also granted, inscribed "CHINA, 1842," to such as had received the medal for that war. Obverse and ribbon the same.

The medals to commemorate the success of the British in South Africa, in the years 1834-35, 1846-7, and from December, 1850, to February, 1853, were distributed by command of Her Majesty, towards the close of the year 1854. The medal, which is without an inscribed clasp, has upon the reverse the conquered lion of Africa, behind which is a shrub common to the country; above are the words "SOUTH "AFRICA;" exergue—"1853." Obverse as usual. Ribbon—orange, with stripes of dark blue.

The campaign against Russia, 1854-5, is rich in military decorations and medals, no fewer than seven varieties having been conferred upon those who were present with the army in the Crimea, from the battle of the Alma to the fall of Sebastopol, September 9th, 1855. They are as follows:—

The Crimean Medal, four clasps.
Victoria Cross.
French Legion of Honour.
French Military Decoration.
Sardinian Medal.
Sultan's Decoration of the Medjidie.
Turkish War Medal.*

The Crimean Medal represents Victory holding a palm branch and placing a laurel crown upon the head of a Roman Warrior:

* There are also medals for Silistria, Kars and the Danube.

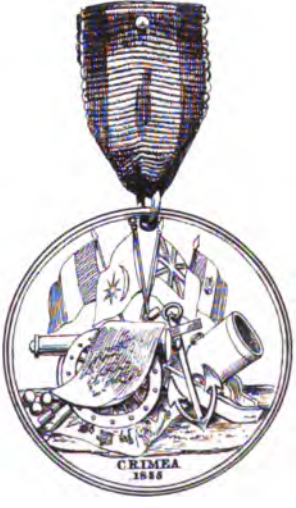
in the field is the word "CRIMEA." The clasps, which are formed of oak leaves, ornamented with acorns, are inscribed, "ALMA, BALACLAVA, INKERMANN, SEBASTOPOL." Reverse—head of Victoria, the date, 1854, underneath. The ribbon is pale blue, edged with yellow.

The idea of creating a new order for distinguished bravery was originated by the late much-lamented Prince Consort, and afterwards instituted by Her Most Gracious Majesty on the 29th January, 1856. The distinction is styled the "Victoria Cross," and is awarded to the soldier who performs "some signal act of valour or devotion to his country."

The decoration is in the form of a Maltese cross, of bronze, with the royal crest in the centre, underneath which are inscribed upon a scroll the words "FOR VALOUR." It is suspended by a laureated clasp and the letter V (for Victoria), and attached to the left breast with a crimson ribbon.

The insignia of the French Imperial order of the Legion of Honour was also granted to several of our officers and soldiers by His Majesty the Emperor of the French, as a mark of his approval of their distinguished services in the Crimea. His Majesty also awarded the decoration of the French military war medal to a number of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, selected from the different regiments that served in the Crimea. The decoration, which is silver, is a small medal, surmounted by an eagle; on the centre of the medal is the head of the Emperor, encircled by a blue enamelled band, having thereon the words "LOUIS NAPOLEON;" a crown of laurel, which forms the outer rim of the medal, is shown both on the obverse and reverse; the centre of the latter is inscribed with the words "VALEUR ET DISCIPLINE." It is worn with a yellow ribbon, edged with green.

The Sardinian medal, conferred by the King of Sardinia upon several officers and men selected from the Crimean army, has, upon the obverse, the arms of Savoy, crowned



J LAWSON 26 NORTH JOHN ST LPOOL

and encircled by the laurel and palm. The legend is—"AL VALORE MILITARE;" on the reverse of the medal is a wreath, with the dates "1855—1856" underneath; legend—"SPEDIZIONE D'ORIENTE." It is worn with a dark blue watered ribbon.

To upwards of a thousand officers of the British army, the Sultan of Turkey granted the decoration of the five classes of the Imperial order of the Medjidie. The decoration is a silver convex centre, bearing the Sultan's cypher, encircled by a crimson enamelled band, inscribed with Turkish characters, and surrounded by a radiated border in silver. It is suspended by a crimson enamelled crescent and star, to which is appended a crimson ribbon, edged with green.

The Sultan also distributed to the British army silver medals, having the royal cypher upon the obverse, enclosed within a circle of laurel. The reverse, which is a clumsy though significant design, represents the success of the allied powers in the Crimea. A field-piece and map of the Crimea are placed upon the Russian flag, to the right of which is an anchor &c.; above are the respective flags of Turkey, England, France and Sardinia. Exergue—"CRIMEA, 1855." The ribbon is crimson, edged with green.

In conclusion I shall but briefly introduce to your notice the medals awarded for long service and good conduct, meritorious service and distinguished conduct in the field. The medal for long service and good conduct, was first granted by King William IV in 1830, to men of irreproachable character, and who had completed twenty-one years' service in the infantry or twenty-four years' in the cavalry. The obverse of this medal is a trophy with the King's arms in the centre; the reverse is inscribed—"FOR LONG SERVICE "AND GOOD CONDUCT." It is worn with a crimson ribbon. The medal for meritorious service, together with an annuity not exceeding £20, is granted to sergeants, as a reward for

distinguished service. It has upon the obverse the head of the Queen, the reverse being inscribed—"FOR MERITORIOUS "SERVICE." Ribbon crimson. The medal awarded for distinguished conduct in the field has the same obverse as the medal for long service; the reverse is inscribed—"FOR "DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT IN THE FIELD." The colour of the ribbon is crimson, with a stripe of blue down the centre.

In conclusion, I wish to offer my sincere thanks to those gentlemen who have kindly lent me their assistance. I am much indebted to R. G. Jackson Esq., of Rupert Lane, and to T. Lake Whitehouse Esq., of the Bank of England, for the uniform kindness and courtesy shown to me, whenever I was desirous of access to their rare and valuable collections. To Mr. Whitehouse my thanks are also due for the translations of the Persian inscriptions on the East India Company's medals for the Deccan, Mysore and Java, which are in his cabinet; my descriptions of the Sardinian medal and the Sultan's decoration of the Medjidie are taken from those in his collection. To Mr. Jackson I am especially indebted for his kindness in permitting me to select from his cabinet any rare medal I might want to illustrate this paper: the medals from his collection, and which I have had the pleasure of showing to you, are the larger Dunbar medal, the Deccan medal and the rare silver medal for Seringapatam. I have also to thank R. Washington Esq. and Miss Shaw for allowing me to place before you the Peninsular medal with twelve bars, the Honourable East India Company's medal for the first Burmese war and the medal for distinguished conduct in the field.

ON THE FLORA OF PRESTON AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

PART IV.*

By Charles Joseph Ashfield Esq.

READ 8TH DEC., 1864.

I AM indebted to the kindness of Miss Becker, lately residing at Altham near Accrington, but now at Ardwick, Manchester, for much of the information contained in the following paper, particularly with regard to the habitats of those two interesting plants, the *Impatiens noli-me-tangere* and the *Colchicum autumnale*, both of which I had the pleasure of verifying during the summer and autumn of 1864. I was unaware previously that either plant flourished in the Preston district. I have also to express my thanks to my former correspondents, Messrs. Henry Scott and George Ward, for information supplied by them.

Thalictrum flavum, Linn.—Ditches about Pilling, plentiful; in several places near St. Michael's; Moreton Woods, near Whalley—Miss Becker.

Anemone Pulsatilla, Linn.—(See Part III as to this plant).—Doubtless some mistake has crept in as to its reported Lancashire habitat. It appears that the Mr. Knowlton who, according to report, found the plant growing abundantly near Lancaster, on the road to Little Purton,

* See vol. x, p. 143. Vol. xii, p. 127. New Series, vol. ii, p. 75.

was gardener to the Earl of Burlington, at Lonesborough (or as it is now written Londesborough), in Yorkshire; and the probability is, that he found the plant in question in that neighbourhood, and not near Lancaster. I have not been able to discover whether or not there is a place called "Little Purton" near Londesborough; but it is certain there is no such place in this county.

Trollius Europæus, Linn.—Wood between Sale Weel and Dinckley Hall; Worston, near Clitheroe—Miss Becker; plentiful in Livesey—Mr. George Ward.

Geranium phæum, Linn.—Simonstone lane—Miss Becker. Old lane in Barton near Preston, leading from Tunstead Farm to Broughton—Mr. Buller.

——— *lucidum*, Linn.—Wall near Portfield, Whalley—Miss Becker.

Impatiens noli-me-tangere, Linn.—In several places by the side of a stream in Simonstone.

Trifolium suffocatum, Linn.—This plant is stated in Part II to grow on the beach at Lytham, but I believe incorrectly; at any rate, I have not been able to meet with it there for several years.

——— *striatum*, Linn.—I believe this plant is occasionally to be found on the beach at Lytham. In 1862 I found a *Trifolium* there in considerable quantities, which I believe to be this; but it was so far past maturity, that I could not with certainty determine the species. I searched for the plant in the same place several times during the summers of 1864 and 1865, and did not find one specimen.

Ornithopus perpusillus, Linn.—Very plentiful in a corn-field at Rufford, by a watercourse from Martin Mere.

Rubus Chamæmorus, Linn.—I have never been fortunate enough to see this plant in blossom on Pendle Hill, or even to discover any vestiges of blossoms; but Miss

Becker informs me that she gathered the plant in blossom there, a few years since. I received a letter from her on this subject, some time since, to the following effect—"I think you cannot fail to find the flowers of "the Cloudberry, if you will start from Sabden. The "route from the village to the summit of the hill leads "you through the tract where the plant grows in the "greatest luxuriance, and as I found it in flower there, I "do not see why you should not." I intended to search for the plant according to these instructions, but have not yet been able to do so.

Rosa tomentosa, Linn.—Hedges at Croston, and other places not far from Preston.

Circæa alpina, Linn.—In Grimeford lane, near Chorley—Mr. Henry Scott.

Cotyledon umbilicus, Linn.—Lucas lane, near Chorley—Mr. Henry Scott.

Sedum Telephium, Linn.—Hedge bank near Cherry Tree station—Mr. George Ward.

Ribes alpinum, Linn.—Hedges in Altham and Simonstone—Miss Becker.

Saxifraga granulata, Linn.—Meadows west of Blackburn, by the river side—Mr. G. Ward.

——— *tridactylites*, Linn.—Hedge bank near Portfield—Miss Becker.

Parnassia palustris, Linn.—Foot of Pendle Hill, near Pendleton Hall.

Galium mollugo, Linn.—This plant is stated in Part I to grow occasionally in hedges near Beacon Fell. I have not been able to meet with it there for several years past; but in August, 1864, I found it growing in a hedge between Hornby and Farleton.

Senecio Saracenicus, Linn.—South bank of the Ribble, below Mitton Church.

Cichorium Intybus, Linn.—Corn field by the Tram-road near Preston.

Campanula latifolia, Linn.—Plentiful in a wood at Dinckley Hall; abundant in the woods about Whalley—Miss Becker.

———— *patula*, Linn.—Miss Becker found a single specimen of what I believe to be this plant, by the side of a brook in Simonstone, in the summer of 1864.

Hottonia palustris, Linn.—Weeton Moss, and ditches in several places about Croston, very plentiful.

Primula farinosa, Linn.—Mearley Clough, Pendle Hill—Miss Becker.

Lithospermum arvense, Linn.—Corn field between Knot End and Pilling, plentiful.

Symphytum officinale, Linn.—Not unfrequent in ditches about Pilling, where it is really wild. The Penwortham and Preston localities named in Part I are doubtful ones.

Veronica peregrina, .—Miss Becker informs me that a solitary specimen of this plant made its appearance in her father's garden, at Altham, a few years ago. She also says "that it has now spread over the place, and "taken such complete possession of the ground, that it "comes up persistently in ever increasing numbers, year "after year, till it has established the character of a "troublesome weed." In a note received by Miss Becker from Professor Babington, he says that this plant is not a native, but as it is now establishing itself in many places, he describes it in the fifth edition of his Manual.

Mentha piperita, Sm.—Canal bank near Enfield, Portfield—Miss Becker.

Scutellaria galericulata, Linn.—Ditches about Pilling, occasionally; vitriol works at Altham—Miss Becker.

Galeobdolon luteum, Huds.—Plentiful in many of the woods

on the banks of the Ribble, between Preston and Ribchester.

Oxyria reniformis, Campd.—On the rocks forming the west side of Clitheroe Castle hill, plentiful; but probably introduced.

Myrica gale, Linn.—Weeton Moss, plentiful.

Butomus umbellatus, Linn.—Canal, Altham—Miss Becker.

Sagittaria sagittifolia, Linn.—Canal, Enfield—Miss Becker.

Elodea Canadensis, Rich.—In several places in the canal north of Preston, abundant, especially near Nateby Hall.

Epipactis latifolia, Sw.—Wood at Dinckley; woods near Samlesbury Mill; Altham Clough, and occasionally in hedges in the neighbourhood—Miss Becker.

——— *palustris*, Sw.—Marshy place in Pleasington—Mr. George Ward.

Convallaria multiflora, Linn.—Altham—Miss Becker.

Maianthemum bifolium, D. C.—In May, 1863, I had a long but unsuccessful search through Dinckley Wood for this plant. (See Part III.)

Colchicum autumnale, Linn.—Meadow at Portfield, abundant.

Carex stellulata, Gooden.—Pendle Hill.

——— *extensa*, Gooden.—Banks of the Wyre, between Skippool and the Shard Ferry.

——— *dioica*, Linn.—Pendle Hill—Miss Becker.

Chära.—One or more of this family may be found in abundance in ditches between Knot End and Pilling.

Botrychium lunaria, Sw.—A solitary specimen of this plant was found between Barley and Sabden, a few years since, by Miss Becker.

Osmunda regalis, Linn.—Weeton Moss.

Polypodium phegopteris, Linn.—Hoghton Wild Bottoms; Dinckley Hall Wood; Churn Clough, Pendle—Miss Becker.

——— *Dryopteris*, Linn.—Hoghton Wild Bottoms.

Allosorus crispus, Bernh.—Hameldon Scar, above Huncoat—Miss Becker.

Asplenium Filix-fœmina var: Rhœticum, Linn.—Hedge banks at Rufford, occasionally.

——— *Trichomanes*, Linn.—Wall near Portfield—Miss Becker.

——— *Ruta muraria*, Linn.—Wall near Portfield—Miss Becker.

Cystopteris fragilis, Bernh.—In a lane a little to the south-west of the Nick of Pendle; in Altham—Miss Becker.

NOTE.—Miss Becker remarks that she has not seen *Saxifraga tridactylites*, *Geranium lucidum*, *Asplenium Trichomanes* and *Rura-muraria*, within many miles of their above-mentioned Portfield habitat. For this reason, although the plants are abundant in other parts of the district, the last-named station is considered worthy of mention.

NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM 1066 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PART I. 1066—1504.

By F. J. Jeffery Esq., F.G.H.S.

(READ 4TH MAY, 1865.)

THAT bartering was the means used among the ancients in the primitive state to obtain from one man what another required without force of arms, there is no doubt; but the first invention or use of coined money is unknown. Some suggest that Tubal Cain invented coins, because he was "*an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron;*"* but this is not very probable, for we read, 2000 years after, that Abraham gave Ephron "four hundred shekels of silver, "*current money* with the merchant," for the cave of Machpelah, this money being not by *tale* (or pieces of metal bearing a recognised value throughout the country), but by weight, for "Abraham *weighed* to Ephron the silver which "he had named." If I were to enter into all the arguments as to the origin of coined money, I should fill more space than this paper is intended to do: suffice it to say—some declare *Janus* or *Saturn* to have invented it; some (Greeks) *Hermodice* wife of King *Midas*; some (Jews) say Abraham,

* Gen. iv, 22.

and, in proof, produce a coin with an old man and woman, "Abraham and Sarah," on one side, and a young man and woman, "Isaac and Rebecca," on the other; others (Latins) say *Numa Pompilius*, from whose name they say the word *numus* was derived; but Pliny tells us, l. 18, cap. 3,* King Servius first impressed the figures of sheep and oxen on the money (copper) whence *pecunia*, money, itself is derived from *pecus* (cattle): still the Greek colonists,

"O'er Asia's coast,"

are believed to have the honour of first coining money about 800 B.C.

As Rome and Greece grew powerful and wealthy, so the arts improved from rude figures impressed on pieces of metal, to bold and trustworthy portraits of the Emperors well and, if I may use the term, beautifully executed; but with the fall of Rome, falls her "all," her arts, sciences, everything, and by the time William the Conqueror put his foot on Albion's soil, coining, like all her sister arts, had scarcely passed its lowest ebb: from a fine profile of a Cæsar on a piece of metal of substantial thickness, coining had degenerated to a thin piece of silver with a something on one side styled a portrait, but just such a one as is given in the painting of "Neglected Genius." It is my intention, in a short outline, to trace the progress of the art from this low ebb to its second flood, and shew how and under what circumstances it has gradually improved and again reached to a point of perfection; following the poverty and wealth of this island during the past eight hundred years, as illustrated by her coinage.

There are three distinct sections into which the English coinage can be divided: they are—

* "Servius rex, ovium boumque effigie primus aes signavit Pecunia ipsa a pecore appellabatur."

I.—The RUDE, to 1504.
II.—The GOTHIC or TUDOR, from 1504 to 1656.
III.—The SIMONIAN, 1656 to the present time.

I. The RUDE, to 1504.

This section I term "rude" from the fact that the portrait is so rough and rude that there was certainly no attempt by the engravers to produce a likeness, for throughout this series any one is as like its original as any other. The cross and pellets, name of mintage-town and, on some, a Latin motto, generally fill the reverse of the silver coins; the obverse bearing the effigy of "my liege," and round the field his name and dignities.

When William I found himself master of the field of Hastings and his opponent numbered among the dead, he did his best to induce his new subjects to believe he succeeded to the throne of England, not by conquest but by right of descent and as lawful heir of Edward the Confessor; and it is worthy of note that in Domesday Book, his arrival is referred to by the phrase, "after King William had come," as though he had merely "come to his own without opposition;" and only *once* does "after King William had conquered "England" appear. One of his first acts was to satisfy his new subjects that the coinage would not be changed, and it was with no little pleasure they found his money passing of the same weight, fineness and denomination as that of Harold. "In his laws the fines are regulated by pounds, oras, marcs, "shillings and pence. The shillings are sometimes expressly "stated to be English shillings of fourpence each. But in "Domesday Book various other denominations of money are "to be found; such as the mite, farthing, halfpenny, marc of "gold and of silver, ounce of gold and marsum."* The

* Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, vol. i, p. 147.

penny was the only coined money that is known ; the remainder being believed to be merely money by name or names of certain different weights of the respective metals, as on some of the Prussian thalers of our own day we read " XIV eine feine " Mark," the mark in this instance being a particular weight of pure silver, and 1-14th mixed with its proportion of alloy is issued as one Thaler.

The following table of value is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica :—*

THE POUND.—Was a denomination of money only, and not a coin, and signified as many coins as were made out of a pound of metal=5400 grains Troy.

THE MARK.—The same : an Anglo-Danish denomination, two-thirds of a Pound=8 oz.=3600 grains.

THE MANCUS.—The same : a weight equal to 30 pennies=6 shillings.

Y^e ORA.—The same : Danish subdivision of the mark, one-eighth or one ounce=450 grains.

THE THRISMA.—Three Saxon pennies : not a coin.

THE SHILLING.—Five pennies=112½ grains : not a coin.

THE SCEATTÆ, PENNY, HALFLING, FEARTHLING, STYCA.—Real coins.

240 pennies	= 1 pound.	5 pennies	= 1 large shilling.
160 „	= 1 mark.	4 „	= 1 lesser do.
80 „	= 1 mancus.	3 „	= 1 thrisma.
20 „	= 1 ora.	20 sceattæ	= 1 shilling = 5½ grs.

But William was not on the throne long, after he felt himself secure, before he violated his promises and declared that the French computation of twelve pence to one shilling should henceforth be used in England. It is very difficult to determine which coins belong to William I, and which to his son William II ; the only ones which all authorities agree to belong to William I, are those with " Pax " on the reverse, or " P.A.X.S." (see Plate I), which are believed to have been struck to commemorate the peace between himself and his son Robert.

SECTION I. RUDE.

1066—1504.

Penny of William I.

SECTION II. GOTHIC OR TUDOR.

1504—1656.

Shilling of Henry VII.

SECTION III. SIMONIAN.

1656 to present time.

Half-Crown of Cromwell.

Though William used the Roman W on his great seal—Willelmum—he adopted the Saxon Ƿ on his coins, and the inscription reads thus "*Ƿillem Rex*," the reverse bearing the name of the moneyer and mint. William II seems to have made two alterations in his father's dies; in one case he has "LVILLEM DVO," and in another he introduces the Roman letter W in Willelmus.

Even at this early period we find the King and country waging a "law war" against forgers and counterfeiters; and Henry I, directly he ascended the throne, proclaimed heavy punishments against that generally unseen scourge of society, by the loss of the hand, the loss of sight, and even more severe penalties than these; but all proved so ineffectual that the Church was called to the protection of the legal coinage.

As they offer nothing of particular interest, I will pass over the subsequent reigns to that of King John. This King had, during his father's lifetime, been sent over to Ireland, and he adopted the title of "Lord of Ireland," his Irish money bearing his effigy in a triangle and the legend *Iohannes Dom.*, and on the reverse his moneyer and mint. Upon ascending the throne of England he changed his title on the Irish coins to *Rex*, but retained "*Dominus*" on his great seal. Clipped money had been a source of great annoyance, and though laws had been passed for its better protection, still John found it necessary in 1205 to issue a proclamation; this was unusually severe, for it affected any one having clipped money in his possession. Should such be found the coins so defaced were bored through and the possessor's chattels were seized and retained during the King's pleasure; but if the possessor were a Jew or Jewess, his or her body was to be kept during the King's pleasure—thus we find the Hebrew people subject to special legislation.

On his English coins we find *Johannes* and *Johannes Rex*, and on the reverse, as usual, the name of his moneyer and mint. Though mention is made of dies being sunk for coining round halfpennies and farthings as well as pence, four years after the accession of his son Henry III, none have yet been found; still sufficient proof is given that they were issued. Up to this time if a halfpenny were required a penny would be broken in half by means of its being bent at the cross; a farthing or fourth-thing was a penny broken into four parts divided at the cross.

In 1227, while Parliament sat, an order was given that "The English grote should be coyned at a certaine weight, "and of the one side the King's picture, and on the other "side a cross, as large fully as the grote, to aduoyd clypping;" but no specimens are now known.

In 1247 clipping was again found to have reached a great height—to such a degree, indeed, that people actually refused to take the coin of the realm unless 2d. or 3d. for 1d. Wherefore a new coinage was absolutely necessary, and in this new issue there were some very great improvements which are well worthy of note—1st, the cross, which had hitherto only touched the inner ring, (to which the clipping had extended, as the law forbade the circulation of any coin so clipped that the cross should have been touched, thus leaving the defrauders a means of evading the law, even though clipping at least one half the coin off, *i.e.* to the inner circle,) was now carried to the extreme of the outer circle or outside rim, with a view to prevent clipping; and, 2nd, the distinctive numerals or words equivalent, *i.e.* the number following, to shew to which King of a certain name the coin belonged, were re-introduced, having ceased to be used since LVILLEM DVO, the inscription being Henricus Terci and Henricus III. (See Plate III.)

It is interesting that Henry III's reign forms a *semi epoch*

Gold Penny of Henry III.

Noble of Edward III.

Quarter or Ferling Noble of Edward III.

Angel of Henry VI.

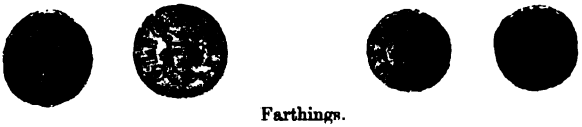
Sovereign of Henry VII.

HENRY III.

Penny—Shortcross.

Penny—Longcross.

EDWARD I., II., or III.,



Farthings.

Groat.

in our coinage, for besides the two improvements just mentioned there is a third, which, like the second, died with him, to be revived again some time after.

Foreign gold coins had been in circulation; for, says Ruding—"In his thirty-fifth year, he commanded Philip "Luvel to pay the whole sum of gold which he owed the "king, on the feast of St. Edward, in gold money, in bezants, "or ob de mus', and other gold money. Provided, however, "that the aforesaid money should answer to the king at the "value of leaf gold; that is, I presume, fine gold." Probably Henry found this gold currency convenient, for in his forty-first year he struck and issued his gold penny (see Plate II), the rate of twenty pennies of sterlings for every gold penny; this coin, however, had not a long existence, for three months after its currency by proclamation, the citizens of London petitioned against it, and its circulation was then declared not to be compulsory; it soon after disappeared, and only three specimens are now known to exist. Edward I is said to have issued his first coinage of half-pence and farthings (see Plate III) in the year 1279, which are the first round half-pence and farthings now to be seen, though, as I said before, Henry III is known to have struck some.

This new coinage was followed by a proclamation forbidding the circulation of clipped money, and appointing certain towns and cities as places where such light money could be exchanged, within a fixed time, for that of legal weight, but being charged fourteen-pence for every pound. In the same year groats, or great sterling, were ordered to be struck.

The year 1300 is worthy of note. From 1066 to this date a penny weighed 24 grains tower (one pennyweight), so that a pound (troy weight) was the same both by weight and tale or value; the penny was now altered in weight to 23·7078 grains.

Edward III was the first king of England who struck coins bearing *Di Gra*, or *Dei Gratia;* but these words are to be read on all the great seals since William I, and were used as early as the latter end of the seventh century by Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the introduction to his laws. In this our present age of enlightenment and education these words are considered by some nervous and superstitious people to be an indispensable part of the coin.

Mention is made of Edward III permitting florins de Escu and florins of Florence to be current. In 1343 a proclamation was issued for three sorts of gold money to be coined; one with two leopards, to be current at six shillings, and equal in weight to two petit florins of Florence; the other two to be of one leopard and one helm, the half and quarter in value of the "two leopards" respectively. Some authorities give as the origin of "Florin" (Latin, *Flora*)—the lily—which, though on the foreign, was not copied on the English florin; others say it is from the coin having been introduced by the Florentines. All these gold coins were found to be too high in their current value in relation to the silver; they were, therefore, recalled in the same year, and a new coin, with its half and quarter, was issued and declared current—the noble, maille-noble and ferling-noble (see Plate II); the noble to pass for the value of six shillings and eight-pence. These coins differed from the silver in type. While those of silver still bore the unskilled portrait, cross and pellets, these bore, for the first time, the heraldic symbols; but that is only part of the difference; the one side bears king Edward in full armour in a ship. The origin of the design is doubtful; some say the battle of Sluys gave Edward the idea, as emblematic of his supremacy by sea; others suggest that the ship is typical of the State, and Edward in full armour, the king

at the helm, ready for all emergencies; but whence is suggested the legend, "*Jesus autem transiens, per medium "eorum ibat?*" Those who favour the first suggestion say it is to commemorate the battle above mentioned. Edward's ships, after going through the midst of the enemy, passed on victorious.

Edward III, it is believed, also first issued groats and their halves, in 1351, to pass for four pennies and two pennies. (See Plate III.)

In 1344 the noble was reduced nearly ten grains in weight, a pound of gold making forty-two nobles; and, at the same time, the penny was reduced to twenty grains, a pound of silver producing 22s. 6d. by *tale*.

False coins, called lusshebournes, began to be imported by merchants and others, who carried the good coin out of the realm, replacing it by these. Parliament was petitioned. Three years afterwards this base coin was still found to be coming into the country, and several merchants were hanged and drawn for importing it. So plentiful indeed were these base coins that Chaucer alludes to them in his *Monkes Prologue, (Canterbury Tales,)* line 13,965.

In consequence of the lineal relationship of Edward to the late king of France, he struck, in 1339, coins with "King of "France" added to his dignities; and this title, except for a short period during the life of the same king, was used by every succeeding English sovereign till the great issue in 1817. It is said by Froissart that this was first done to satisfy the Flemings, who wished to be on Edward's side in the contest between England and France; but, having taken oath not to fight against the king of France, Edward adopted the claim and title to enable them to assist him and still be free from the charge of perjury.

It would be tedious, and beyond the purpose of this paper, to enumerate in detail the uninteresting events in connec-

tion with our coinage which immediately follow the reign of Edward III; suffice it to say, that the wars of the Roses saw base coin and clipping; and to such a state had the want of bullion come, that Henry VI "had recourse to alchemy "for the supply of his mints with bullion." In a patent which he granted to certain persons for practising that art, he speaks with the utmost confidence of being able to pay all his debts with real gold and silver "by the stone."

In 1470 angels (see Plate II) were struck of the same value as the noble of Edward III. Edward IV, in 1465, in an indenture, ordered 45 nobles to be made from the pound of gold, each noble being current at ten shillings, so that a pound of gold was coined into £22 10s. Silver was also diminished in weight. The new nobles were called rials, from the French, who gave that name to the coin on account of its bearing the figure of the king in his royal robes. Angels were afterwards called noble-angels, because they were of the same value as the former nobles and bore the impression of St. Michael and the Dragon, which design is supposed to have been the origin of St. George and the Dragon.

In the fifth year of Henry VII, says Ruding, "Gyles, "Lord Daubenay, and Bartholomew Rede, of London, gold-"smith masters and workers of the Mint, in the Tower of "London, were ordered to make a new money of gold according "to the print and form of a piece of lead annexed to the letters "patent. The coin to be of the fineness of the standard of "the gold monies of the realm, according to the indenture "between the king and them, and to be double the weight of "the royal. Twenty-two and a half of such pieces to be "coined out of the pound weight tower, and to be called the "sovereign (see Plate II), and to have course in receipts and "payments for twenty shillings sterling."

This is the first introduction of our gold medium now in

circulation. First called a "sovereign" from the monarch or sovereign, in full length, on the obverse; it was changed in name to "double rial" by Mary, in accordance with her Spanish fancies and tendencies; again styled "sovereign" by Elizabeth, "unit" by James I, "guinea" by Charles II, and recoined as "sovereign" in 1817; rising and falling in relation to the shilling, as gold was scarce in relation to silver, more than once passing current for thirty shillings. Such was the last new coin issued within the date of my first section.

In this period we find the shilling of twelve pence, introduced by William I, from Normandy, but the penny, a "pennyweight," or 24 grs., being the weight of 24 grains of flour from the middle of the ear of wheat, was the only coin now known to have been issued in his reign of which we have a specimen. At a comparatively early date the first introduction of gold as a coin was opposed by the citizens of London, and only just at the close of this first or rude era do we see the sovereign appear: what we may term the two extremes of our present currency were coined at its two extremes; the shilling was not known as a coin, but was merely a money of value, and copper had not yet appeared as a circulating medium. The lawyer's fee had been settled in the shape of a noble, "six and eight pence," but our modern subscription of "a guinea," was not yet invented.

Though a penny varied in weight from twenty to twenty-four grains in the time of William I, such was the increase in the value of metal, that in the time of Henry III it had been reduced to twelve grains, or about one-half.

We have thus been brought to the end of the first and commencement of the second section of this paper; and on arriving at this point, I find I have made it so much more lengthy than I at first intended, that I think it would be well to pause and reserve the second and third divisions for another time.

COINS IN CIRCULATION—1066.

Penny, weight 24* grains.

COINS IN CIRCULATION—1504.

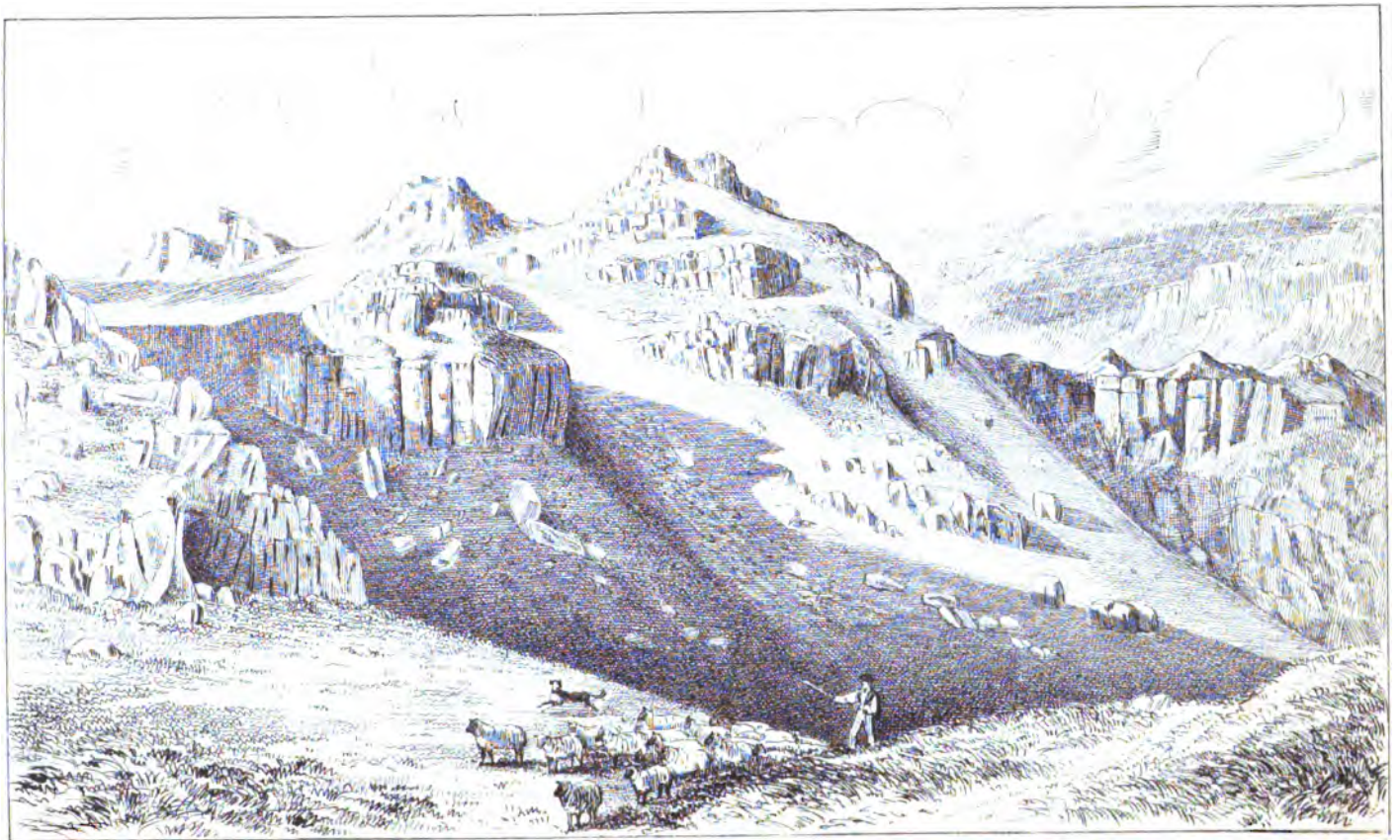
	Grains weight.	Value.
Gold.		
Sovereign†	240	20s. 0d.
Half‡		10s. 0d.
Ryal §	120	10s. 0d.
Half	60	5s. 0d.
Quarter	30	2s. 6d.
Angel	80	6s. 8d.
Half	40	3s. 4d.
Silver.		
Groat	48	0s. 4d.
Half	24	0s. 2d.
Penny	12	0s. 1d.
Half	6	0s. ½d.
Farthing	3	0s. ¼d.

* Varies between 22½ and 24, but 24 was the authorised weight.

† The weight of the Sovereign now in circulation is 123·274 grains.

‡ It is believed that the half-sovereign and the ryal were the same coin.

§ All the nobles coined during and since the reign of Edward IV were termed Rials, and the old coins in circulation Rose-nobles, or Rials, and current at 6s. 4d. The noble, first coined at 6s. 8d., thus rose to 8s. 4d., and as shown above under the head of Rial, was worth 10s. in 1504.



J. LAWSON 28 NORTH JOHN ST. LIVPOOL

A. E. Barron del.

LIMESTONE SCAURS *near* SETTLE, YORKSHIRE

THE LIMESTONE CAVES OF CRAVEN AND THEIR ANCIENT INHABITANTS.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

READ 11TH MAY, 1865.

THE Great Scaur Limestone of the North of England covers a large area, extending from the coalfield of Durham on the north, to mid Derbyshire on the south, there terminating in the well-known Peak.

It is, however, to a portion only of this extensive tract that attention is now invited—a section of Craven, a district comprising much of north-west Yorkshire. The locality of the larger cavernous recesses, peculiar to this geological formation, ranges between higher Wharfdale on the east, and the hills of Ingleborough and Whernside on the west, with Malham, Settle and Bentham lying on the southern side. Here and there, most irregularly, but throughout its surface-extent, this "Lower Scar Limestone" (of Professor Phillips) crops out, exhibiting ranges of abrupt perpendicular escarpment, termed *scaurs*;* but it is chiefly upon its outer border, where, sharply abutting upon the surrounding valleys, these escarpments—abounding in fissures resulting from volcanic action—present really grand and impressive features. The wild ravine of Gordale, described even by our quiet mountain poet Wordsworth, as "a den where the earthquake "might hide her cubs;" the imposing "cove" of Malham;

* Locally corrupted into *scar*; the original Saxon designation, however, is yet retained among the limestone hills of Derbyshire.

or the isolated, abrupt and towering crag of Kilnsey; each forms a picture at once sublime and beautiful, never to be erased from the mind of the visitor.

The district possesses several remarkable and deservedly noted caves, as Yordas, Clapham, Weathercote and others, in the immediate vicinity of Ingleborough; but in these no traces of *human* occupation have been known to occur, with the exception of a few Edwardian pennies, found after floods in a cavernous recess among the rocks at Ivescar, near Chapel-le-dale, and which have not improbably been washed from some higher locality on the eastern slope of Whernside. These caverns have mostly been known for a lengthened period; and it is impossible now to say what relics might not have been recognised, had a discriminating antiquary "been "there to see," on occasion of their discovery; although, as *wet* caves, or, in other words, being still subterraneous water-courses in wet seasons, numerous traces of either human or animal occupation were not to be anticipated. That near Clapham, on the south-eastern slope of Ingleborough, which is the largest and longest, extending its circuitous course for the almost incredible distance of two-thirds of a mile, shows in many places proof of its water-worn increase—fragments of former beds of the stream, full of pebbles, still adhering, here and there, to the lime-encrusted walls of this splendid stalactitic gallery. Of late years, a spirit of improved archæological inquiry and discrimination has arisen in the more educated class of the community, and among its effects may be claimed the examination of at least two long-known caves for natural and artificial *reliques*, resulting in a fair amount of success; whilst several new caverns, of no little interest, both in a geological and ethnological point of view, have been discovered, one of which—although, from unavoidable circumstances, never explored as systematically as could be desired—has yet yielded quite a budget of historic

relics, the *animal remains* being wholly unnumbered; and this rich geological mine is not yet half worked out. Other natural chambers, doubtlessly, not only exist, but contain similar, perhaps more valuable features of human interest, although as yet unseen by the present generation. James Farrer Esq. of Ingleborough House, the owner of the Clapham and other caves, obligingly writes me—"I have explored a "great number of the Ingleborough caves; they are all, "in their *present* condition at least, incapable of having "afforded shelter either to human beings or animals. My own "cave (Clapham), discovered about thirty years ago, has been "frequently deluged with water, as has probably been the case "during many ages, since the present bed of the stream which "flows through it is much lower than it formerly was, as "evidenced by masses of rolled pebbles still adhering, in "places, to the sides of the cavern. There is, however, a "certain portion of the cave to which I propose to direct my "attention, when I have time, though I hardly expect to find "either human or other animal relics."

Eastward of Giggleswick, on the contrary, all the (known) caves now lie high and dry, in comparison with their earlier condition as watercourses; being situate in the scaurs, at a considerable elevation above any modern dwellings of man, but mostly possessing traces, more or less numerous, of *both ancient animal and human habitation*, and it is to such, exclusively, that it is now proposed to confine our attention.

Starting from the eastern border of the district described, and having secured Mr. Tennant's keeper as guide, the visitor clears the ancient village of Kilnsey, with its ruinous manor house; passes presently along the streamlet's bank, under the stupendous crag, swarming with birds, which here breed in security; and thence for above a mile pursues the road leading up this vale of the upper Wharf towards the little village of Arncliffe, near Kettlewell. Before approaching nearly to this

hamlet, he strikes up the steep open pastures to the left, for about a quarter-of-a-mile, when the secluded portal of the New Cave, only found in 1862, is pointed out. Few geological and no human relics have as yet transpired here; but the cavern is, nevertheless, well worthy of a visit, extending as it does westwardly a distance of six hundred yards, or above the third of a mile. When once the foot of the steep, shaft-like entrance is gained, this natural subterraneous vault proves by no means difficult to traverse, being remarkably dry and level. Perhaps the most unusual feature here is the very slightly varying width throughout the whole extent, varying but from about twelve to sixteen feet, and in no instance widening out, like the caves shortly to be noticed, into spacious chambers, sometimes with flat, but more frequently *pointed Gothic* roofs of the first of architects, Nature. It has been supposed, from the direction taken—and a very circuitous route it is—that the extremity must very nearly approach, if not absolutely open into, the next mentioned cavern, and after some little removal of rock about the final crevices, guns were fired on one occasion, in the hope of their reports being heard in the supposed adjacent chamber: these were, however, not detected. Lying so deeply beneath the surface as this cave does, there is little if any drip even in the wettest seasons, and consequently being much drier than the Settle caves, it is a matter of surprise that as yet no trace of its having been a resort of man has hitherto been noticed; inasmuch as the difficulty of access must have added considerably to the security of such a retreat; possibly it remained unknown, or, even at that *geologically* late era, a watercourse (as from its smoothly worn sides it once evidently was), thus precluding habitation, like the Ingleborough caves during late ages. The present proprietor is J. R. Tennant Esq. of Kildwick Hall, who has allowed Mr. Farrer to examine the caves upon his estate; and, from his experience in other quarters, the latter gentleman is well qualified for

the work. He thinks archæological remains may be found here by a carefully investigating party, and also informs me of his strong conviction that this new cave is continued in the rock, *upon the other side of the valley*, which, by the way, is believed to have been scooped out by glaciers; but that the entrance is at present completely choked up with rock and *débris*. Should this assumption prove to be correct, the original length of this darksome and tortuous waterworn tunnel must be estimated by *miles*. *Half*-a-mile's perambulation, under such circumstances, having satisfied the visitor, he emerges with infinite gusto into the pure mountain air for a few minutes, when, having in the meantime gained a still more elevated position, in a quiet grassy nook among the rocks (one thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea), he is suddenly appalled by the apparition of two black chasms, yawning at his feet, and apparently leading into unknown regions of mystery and darkness: in short, he has reached Dowkabottom Hole. A portion of this cavern's range having lain somewhat higher than the rest, the roof has here fallen in, leaving a cave on either hand. From Dr. Whittaker's description it would appear that in his time the entrances were far more picturesque than we now find them; but the occasional presence of a party of excavators, under the superintendence of Mr. Hodgson of Settle, on behalf of Mr. Farrer, for weeks at a time sufficiently accounts for the disappearance of most of the ivy and ferns, which, overhanging the openings, served effectually to heighten their naturally weird aspect. The eastern chamber is of no great size; but that to the westward is spacious, and it is here that most of the antiqurian and other relics have occurred. Since the last excavations, in the autumn of 1863, and the spring of last year, it has been supposed no chance remained of a visitor's securing aught but an odd fragment of a nameless bone, as a memorial of the spot; but the writer, accustomed to make the best use of his eyes in such a

suspicious locality, found, in a crevice, a small Roman bronze nail, with fragment of Samian ware, containing a couple of letters of the potter's name, in themselves patent proof of occupation during Romano-British times. The result of Mr. Farrer's last explorations, Mr. Denny informs me, consisted of an antler of the great Irish deer *(Megaceros Hibernicus)*, only the second known occurrence of this fine species (which has usually borne the erroneous designation of elk) in Yorkshire; a perfect skeleton of the extinct red deer; horns and a frontal bone of the roebuck; with various remains of the wild boar, wolf &c. The archæological relics then found comprised a portion of a small flint instrument and a large brass coin of Antoninus Pius, with the interesting reverse struck in commemoration of his final victory in Britain and the complete subjugation of the northern part of the island. In a stratum of soft stalagmite, in addition to the bones of the red deer, charcoal and fragments of pottery appeared, below which, in a bed of hard stalagmite, was found the skeleton of a young child, of about two and a-half years of age. The approximate date of the deposition of the last named remains, though assuredly ancient, may be regarded as somewhat doubtful.

Eight miles to the westward of the Arncliffe caves, in the parish of Giggleswick, and about 900 feet above the pleasant little town of Settle, on the Ribble, our second group of caves is situate among the Langcliffe Scaurs, which rise, terrace above terrace, in some places to the height of 1460 feet above the level of the sea—their abrupt faces, broken and fissured vertically to such an extent as greatly to resemble basaltic rocks. These columnar portions again are frequently found cracked horizontally by frost and sun. Of the higher reaches of the scaurs, a good idea may be obtained from the illustrative plate, reduced from a painting in oil by a local artist, Miss Burrow, of Settle. The locality depicted includes the site of many caves, a fine one having been found in recent times, in

the elevated scaur of the back ground. Occurring upon the very day of the accession to the throne of these realms by our beloved Sovereign, the discovery of this cavern,—an invaluable one to geologic and archæological science—is well commemorated in the name bestowed upon it by the loyal finder, Mr. Joseph Jackson, of Settle, viz. VICTORIA. To the same gentleman I am indebted for the loan of the larger portion of interesting objects now exhibited in illustration of my remarks; but many procured by him are now in the Leeds Museum: others formerly in the possession of Mr. Farrer, have been presented by him to the British Museum. The objects in Mr. Jackson's valuable collection have been procured at an expense of labour and patience not one in ten thousand would devote to such an object. Many an hour in many a day has been spent by this gentleman, in damp and a darkness only relieved by a solitary candle, his toil, in a necessarily uncomfortable posture, remaining wholly unrequited, whilst at distant intervals some ornament or instrument of early use, has given some zest to labour perhaps for days only buoyed by enthusiasm. His various investigations here and elsewhere have now been prolonged over thirty years, during some of which, however, operations have been suspended though never relinquished, and during this period, as still, he has to contend with the ignorance and prejudices of small local proprietors.

The Victoria is the largest of the (known) Settle caverns, and consists of two main compartments, each exceeding one hundred feet in length. It possesses several entrances, all difficult of passage; that now used by visitors lies in a recess or angle of the elevated scaur facing the west. Within this portal the visitor is necessitated for a short distance to crawl downward (feet foremost), on hands and knees, carrying his allotted candle as he can, to the more spacious vaults beyond. Here, taking a survey of "the situation," he perceives in front and to the right, the roof of apparently a spacious chamber, but

examination shews it to be filled to within two-and-a-half to three feet of the roof, with solid and most desperately tenacious clay, of unknown depth, and containing animal remains of any or every past age, whilst remaining for future ages to examine should the present one decline the task. To the left lies the entrance, cumbered by masses of rock, into a fine chamber of great height and proportionate width, where Mr. Jackson found the natural deposition of the flooring to have occurred in the following order. Upon the solid rocky bottom appeared early animal bones mixed with clay; above, in succession, hard stalagmite, clay, softer stalagmite, earth, *human relics*, bones, charcoal ashes, and lastly, the surface of the floor, of a loamy soil, found strewed with loose stones and bones. In other caves the lower clay resting upon the natural rock was found in places to cover archæological remains and human bones, but usually such occurred on a higher level, in fact over any great depositions of clay, and generally in a mixed stalactitic mass or crust, wet from drip and very slimy to work even in the droughty months of summer, whilst the detection of small objects under such circumstances, and by the poor light of a candle, proves difficult in the extreme; yet Mr. Jackson found here the greater portion of his best objects, inclusive of the brooches illustrated.

The entrance to Kelco cave in Giggleswick scaur, in common with others here, faces the west and, being open and lofty, is of a very different character from any I have attempted to describe, the approaches lying through a wood or plantation skirting the side of the hill opposite the village, which is so thickly grown that strangers might, and in fact do, pass within a dozen yards of the entrance without suspecting the existence of any such recess. Formerly, when exposed to the neighbouring public road, it was too much of a resort; now it is by no means easy to find. It has been examined by the proprietor, and the clay and other soil have been removed, leaving the rocky floor-

ing mostly bare. Consequently the antiquarian harvest may be considered as reaped, unless, through want of sufficiently careful manipulation of the soil and clay, the mixed mass should be yet found to contain small objects which have escaped the excavator's notice. Upon poking with the point of my umbrella into what little soil remained just within the entrance, I turned out a fragment of Romano-British pottery, with white raised ornamentation upon a brownish-lead coloured ground, evidently an example of the Durobrivan or Northamptonshire ware, and singularly enough it proved to be the first specimen of this remarkable national pottery (if it may so be termed) as yet noticed in these caves. Other cavernous recesses may be visited in this neighbourhood, but in only two or three of them have human remains been found. Like the unbottomed portions of the Victoria cave they are discouragingly full, almost to the roof, of clay, the labour attendant upon the removal of which would tax a Hercules; and it is to be feared, but little prospect exists of any thorough excavation even of caves suspected to contain remains of interest. For the easier comparison of the products of the Craven caves, a synoptical table is appended, by which it will be seen that whilst in those near Arncliffe, bones of two extinct species of deer with those of the lower order of beasts of prey appear with coins of early Roman Emperors, in the Settle caverns we find relics of much earlier mammalian inhabitants, in bones of the bear, tiger and hyæna, all identified by the late Dr. Buckland and other geologists; whilst after many geological changes ancient British and Roman fabrications are found, but yet all of these *below* the flooring of the caves, as discovered.

REMAINS IN CAVES, CRAVEN, YORKSHIRE.

ANATOMICAL.		ARCHÆOLOGICAL.	
CAVES NEAR SETTLE.	CAVES NEAR ARNCLIFFE.	CAVES NEAR SETTLE.	CAVES NEAR ARNCLIFFE.
Man	Man (presumed Ancient British and Roman British)	1.—PRIMÆVAL. Adze-head of *Trap*, similar to one brought from Tahiti Numerous Arrow Heads, &c., of Flint	A few rude Flints.
Cave Tiger			
European Bear			
Hyæna			
Badger	Badger		
Wolf	Wolf		
Wolf-dog	Wolf-dog		
	Fox		
Wild Boar	Wild Boar		
Horse	Horse		
	Great Irish Deer (*Megaceros Hibernicus*)		
Red Deer (extinct species)	Red Deer (extinct species)		
	Roebuck		
Short-horned Ox (*Bos Taurus*)	Short-horned Ox		
Sheep	Sheep		
Goat	Goat		
Hare			
Water Rat	Water Rat		
	Birds (as Goose, Partridge, Thrush, &c.)		
		2.—EARLY BRITISH. *Bronze:* Fibulæ (6); *Bone:* ornaments; *Amber:* Beads; *Glass:* Beads.	
		3.—ROMAN AND ROMANO-BRITISH. *Silver:* Head of Bronze Hairpin (?). *Bronze:* Coins (20–30),* Fibulæ, Studs, Nails,† Pins, Needles, Finger-rings, Armlets, Bracelets, Sword-handles, Belts, Buckles, Strap Tags. *Iron:* Fibulæ, Lance and Spear heads, Sacrificial and other Knives, Hooks, Keys, Nails, Dagger-guard, Hammer-head. *Ivory and Bone:* Spoons, Skewers, Pins, Needles, Bodkins, Combs, Arrow Heads, Hooks, Fish-hooks, Teetotum, Counters, Draughtsmen, Spindle-whorls. *Enamel:* Studs. *Jet:* Beads. *Glass:* Beads, Bracelets, &c. *Terra Cotta:* Spindle-whorls, Crocks of Samian, and Northants Ware; Funeral Urns of the Upchurch Ware; *Shell:* Perforated Ornaments, Nerita Littoralis, Turbo Littoreus, Cardium Muricatum, &c. *Stone:* Sling Pellets, Whetstones, Quoits, Dirks.	*Silver:* Denarius of Trajan. *Bronze:* Coins, 4–6, including Nero (2 B) Nerva, (2 B), Hadrian (1 B) (2) Antoninus Pius (1 B) commemorating his final conquest of Britain; Fibulæ, Studs, Nails. *Bone*: Needle. *Jet:* Armlet; *Glass:* Armlet, Rings, &c.; *Terra Cotta:* Spindle-whorls, Crocks of Samian and coarse black ware.

* Including 3 B of Gallienus, Cl. Gothicus, Victorinus, Aurelianus, Maximus, Constantinus Max. Constantius II, Crispus, and numerous illegible.

† Some of these resemble in an extraordinary manner the small brass tacks with semi-globular heads used until lately by upholsterers; similar examples, no doubt of the Roman period, are found imbedded in a species of stone, of course of recent geological formation, but yet used for building purposes, procured in Malta.

Having thus surveyed the caves and noted their varied contents as recorded up to present date, I proceed to an examination of the different theories propounded in reference to their natural relationships, leaving the purely geological questions connected with the former to the discussion of abler writers. Mr. Denny of Leeds enters very fully into these in a paper read by him before the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at the meeting held at Sheffield in 1859, and subsequently published in its *Transactions* of that year. To this valuable paper I am likewise indebted for several notices of discoveries in other caves throughout England, here reproduced for comparison.

Mr. West, in the appendix to his *Guide to the Lakes*, published in 1793, gives a somewhat exaggerated, yet interesting and informing description of the Ingleborough and Dowkerbottom caves, but it was reserved for Dr. Whittaker, the able historian of this district, to direct attention to the fact of some of them having been the residence of man—remarking, "several of the caves appear to have been the haunts of "banditti, or perhaps the retreats of the first inhabitants."

In the first volume of that invaluable bibliographical museum of archæology the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Mr. Charles Roach Smith gives a short description of the relics previously found by Mr. Jackson, chiefly in Kelco, Dowkerbottom and Victoria caves, illustrated by several plates and a plan of the last named with a sketch of its approaches. He does not hesitate to acknowledge these caverns as the resort of the Romanized British inhabitants, and that the presence of fragments of sepulchral urns of their fabrication proves the occasional use of the recesses and ledges of these retreats for the reception of ashes of the deceased, although by no means for sepulture alone.

Mr. John Dixon, a Yorkshire antiquary, has also written upon the subject, his remarks being quoted at length by

Mr. Denny; they all "tend to show that the Craven caves "would seem to have been occupied for a considerable length "of time (from urgent necessity, and not as a matter of choice) "by a numerous family (!) who have left unmistakeable proofs "of their acquaintance with Roman luxury and some of the "civilized arts; that they were occupied up to very near the "close of the Roman dominion in Britain is at once evidenced "by the occurrence of many coins of Constantinus and "Constantius."

Mr. Denny himself, after broaching the theory of their having been the temporary habitations of lead and other miners, during the Roman period, discards it from the large proportion of ornaments (unlikely to be worn by so poor a class) appearing among the remains, and concludes by adopting Mr. Dixon's views, as to their having been the unavoidable resort of people in troublous times, more especially those immediately preceding and succeeding the Roman evacuation, embracing the latter part of the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries.

Lastly, Mr. Thomas Wright, the able Saxon scholar and careful historian, writes of them* as "caves in which objects "made by man and remains of man himself are found intermixed "with the remains of animals, which also must have become "extinct at a very remote period, while the caves themselves "are supposed to have been removed by some natural convul- "sion out of their original positions, since these deposits have "been made." "The neighbourhood of Settle must in early "times have been a very wild and uncultivated district;" again, "a great variety of objects of antiquity, most of them evidently "of Roman work and *apparently late*, and a good number of "coins; these latter established beyond a doubt the lateness

* *The Early History of Leeds:* a lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society of Leeds, April 19th, 1864, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Privately printed by Baines and Sons.

" of the date at which these caves had been occupied by men.
" Some of them were Roman, chiefly of the Emperors of the
" Constantine family, which formed the mass of the monetary
" circulation in Britain at the close of the Roman period; but
" the greater proportion of them consisted of the rude imitations
" of the coinage of these Emperors, which were made and
" circulated after the withdrawal of the Roman power, and
" which cannot therefore be older than the fifth century.
" Some of these caves in Craven have been more fully
" examined since the account printed by Mr. Roach Smith, and
" the new discoveries have been well described by Mr. Denny.
" Objects of the same description were found with the addition,
" in one of the caves, of bones of the wolf, the hyæna and
" the cave tiger, but the remains of these animals, long extinct
" in our island, were very few. It is curious that, in most of
" these caves yet explored, the objects found which come under
" the examination of the antiquary, of which the date can be
" given, belong to nearly the same age, although mixed to a
" *small degree* with works of ruder make, such as stone
" implements. I conclude that the time when people resorted
" to these caves was that of the turbulence and confusion
" which marked the decline of the Roman power, and the
" equally turbulent period which immediately succeeded it.
" With our entire ignorance of the exact state of society
" during that period, it would be idle to attempt to give
" a reason for this resort, and therefore to assign a merely
" conjectural cause for their having been frequented at any
" particular period is absurd. The passion for conjecturing
" without sufficient knowledge has been the bane of archæ-
" ological science during the past age. I must, however,
" urge that the circumstance of finding in these caves
" evidence of their having been resorted to at a late date,
" entirely cuts away the ground for assuming that the remains
" of man found in them must be coeval with the fossil bones

"or remains of extinct animals which occur in company "with them."

I have quoted from the disquisitions of other archæological writers, whose opinions are worthy of respect, more largely than would have been the case had I not been desirous of rendering those opinions, as far as possible, in their own words; and because whilst agreeing, to some extent, in their deductions, I have yet a lance to break with several of them, especially with Mr. Wright, whose recent assertion—that all early bronzes found in these countries (save perhaps daggers) are necessarily of Roman introduction, if not fabrications—is, I am glad to note, most deservedly assailed by abler pens than mine. Abjuring the stringently artificial division between the stone, bronze and iron periods of the northern antiquaries, it surely is not necessary, certainly not philosophical, to rush hastily, with our yet most imperfect evidence, to the opposite extreme? Again, a thorough antiquary will welcome in a generous spirit any sensible theory propounded in necessary discussions for the elucidation of truth.

Before discussing in detail the archæological relics and their inherent testimony, a careful review of the district, as displayed through the geologic lens, is essential to a clear comprehension of the subject:—A wild expanse of elevated country appears, whose barren and uncultivable character proves its main feature, broken here and there by deep valleys, generally of limited width. Throughout the upland region—the site of a great "fault"—the escarpments of the limestone rock, upheaved by volcanic or other action, rise up on every side, often in much angular confusion, their bases strewn with *débris*, dislocated, partially in the process, partially by frost and tempest (each cause still operating), leaving the crests of these rugged hills at an immensely greater elevation than when inhabited by the tiger, bear and other large beasts,

denizens of a barbarous, or at best, half-civilized country, whilst access, as centuries roll on, becomes increasingly difficult, and it would now be no easy matter to drag a large body into most of the caverns. These open out in steep escarpments of the rock, the only apparent exception being Dowkerbottom Hole, which, as has been remarked, has been exposed to the light of day simply by the subsidence of a portion of the roof, and there is every probability, that even if ultimately proving unconnected with the new cave, it will be found to have some terminal and eastern opening in a scaur. It is evident to geologists that, like those around Ingleborough, these *archæological* caverns have all been, at one time or other, watercourses for streams far larger than, by any natural possibility, could be concentrated in their present locations of relative altitude. In no other way can the invariable and often very deep stratum of alluvial clay be satisfactorily accounted for. Intermixed with it, or rather engulfed in it, at varying depths, until the rocky bottoms of the larger chambers are reached, bones, probably of the earlier species of mammals, occur; but it is worthy of especial note, that no object of metal, or, in other words, *relic of civilization*, has been clearly proven to have been likewise found in this *marl*, which, by-the-by, is universally of a deep red colour, where free from soil, and has strongly dyed all the bones, which have, for unnumbered ages, been therein entombed, thus confirming in many instances, the *relative* date of deposit. Mr. Denny certainly "found the parietal bones of a human skull *below* "the clay, soft stalagmite and bones of the wolf resting upon "the rocky floor of the cave, which would at least imply that "the human and canine remains were coeval." So far one can agree with him; but, when he further remarks, "as we "know the wolf existed at the same period with the hyæna, "tiger, bear, hippopotamus, rhinoceros and elephant, we may "reasonably infer that man was also contemporaneous with the

"latter animals," it must be acknowledged that the deduction is not sound—possible if not probable—but yet undetermined, as regards this country at all events, despite the interesting fact Mr. Denny records of human remains being found in the *brick clay*, at Wortley, near Leeds, in 1852, in close approximation to those of the hippopotamus, elephant and *urus*. In short, I hold alluvial depositions, whether clay or gravel, to be in the highest degree deceptive; and the accumulations of ancient tools of flint and other stone, with bones of early extinct animals, amongst gravel, *drifted sometimes between far older strata*, near Abbeville and other localities, in the north of France, ought to make archæologists especially cautious in assuming such associates to be necessarily coeval, even when found literally cheek-by-jowl. It is to be regretted that Mr. Denny does not state the depth of clay where he discovered the fragment of skull, inasmuch as, if in a shallow place, it might very easily have been humanly interred where found, at a comparatively late period, say fifteen hundred years ago; whilst if, on the contrary, in the bed or hollow of the chamber's floor, possibly under some twelve to fifteen feet of clay, the result of many ages of alluvial deposition, the doubling, or even the trebling of this date would not be an extravagance.

At Wookey Hole, near Wells, as I am informed by an experienced antiquary, who has carefully examined the place, the primeval objects of stone and flint there found appear to have originally been dropped or deposited near the mouth of the cave, and that, subsequently, floods had drifted remains of several long extinct animals, in a mixed soil, *over the former* —a confirmatory warning against hasty assumptions of contemporaneity. I perfectly agree with Mr. Denny, in considering most of the ruder implements and objects of the Craven caves as the productions of a semi-barbarous race, inhabiting this district for long ages anterior to the Roman Invasion.

Mr. Farrer obtained several human skulls from the Victoria Cave, which, he states, are all considered to belong to an early British race; and among the objects found in the different caves, and referable to that age, I am disposed to include, not only the adze of trap and the rudely fashioned arrow-heads of flint, but also many of the articles made of bone, particularly the pierced wolf's tooth and the long beads*—for, from their uniformity and apparent uselessness for other purposes, I can only regard them as such—along with the large pins or skewers, often used for securing the coarsely woven or skin dress of the natives.

"A female skeleton was found by Dr. Buckland, in the "Paviland cave, Devonshire, which lay extended in the usual "position of burial. By the side of the thigh bone, where the "pocket is worn, was found about two handsful of shells of "the *nerita littoralis*, in a state of complete decay. At another "part of the skeleton, in contact with the ribs, were from forty "to fifty fragments of small *cylindrical ivory rods*, about four "inches in length; also portions of ivory rings and pieces of "ivory in process of manufacture into some articles, which "had been cut by a rude instrument, the marks of which "remained on the surface. Now Dr. Buckland considered "this skeleton as coeval with, if not anterior to, the Roman "invasion of this country; but not antediluvian, as he "believed the bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, bear, hyæna "and wolf to be, which were found in the same cave. When, "however, we bear in mind that most of the ivory articles "were so much decayed as to split longitudinally by the "separation of the laminæ of the tusk out of which they "were made, and that they were most undoubtedly manu-"factured when the tusk of the elephant was firm and hard, "as also the decayed state of the shells, additional proof is "afforded not only of the very high antiquity of these relics,

*Vide *Coll. Antiqua*, vol. I.

" but also of the individual to whom they belonged. For if " we find tusks of elephants in a cave, the ivory of which " exhibits little or no indications of decay (and these are " unhesitatingly allowed to be of a very remote date), by " what process of reasoning can we refer articles made of " ivory, decomposing from the effects of time, and associated " with the former, to a later or more recent date ?"*

The perforated shells of the Craven caves, consequently, might also safely be referred to this early British era, were they not quite likely to have been used by *children*, as much for toys as for ornament, and, consequently, their precise age is very questionable. Identical objects, rudely formed of stone and bone, with similarly perforated sea shells, accompanied by bones of large extinct deer and oxen, the roebuck &c., have been exhumed from the foundations of an ancient Pict's house or hut, at Kettleburn, in Caithness, and by the sea, from among the ancient forest trees upon the Cheshire shore, whilst analogous remains have, it is believed, been discovered in Thor's cave—also in the limestone—in Derbyshire, but the long-promised report of the late excavations in this cavern has not yet been made public. The animals just mentioned were without doubt existent here during the early centuries of the Christian era.†

* *Vide* Mr. Denny's Pamphlet.

† In the Caverns of Perigord, (south of France,) situate in considerable numbers near the tributaries of the Dodoagne, the *breccia* or limy conglomerate, forming the latter flooring, is found replete with archæological remains, commingled with those of animals, *chiefly the Reindeer;* they comprise human bones, charcoal, flint weapons and other instruments, bone arrow heads, needles &c. In the celebrated Kirkdale cave Dr. Buckland found the remains of all the animals noticed hitherto in the Craven caves, except the wolfdog, mingled with those of the elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, proving these to some extent contemporaneous, but I believe no human remains were found amongst them, and the absence of the wolfdog, a creature far more likely to have been used by man than the unwieldly ones named above, is very significant. At Brixham cave Dr. Falconer found primeval instruments of flint, with bones of the animals we have just alluded to, whilst in another, near Palermo, the Grotto di Maccagnone, *flint and agate knives* occurred with similar remains. It is evident, however, that these *human* relics are of a much earlier date than could be assigned to any *found as yet* in the Craven caves.

1

3

4

In the Collection of Mr. Jas. Jackson, Settle.

2

BACK VIEW TO SHOW PIN &c.

In the Collection of Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith

ANCIENT BRITISH BROOCHES.

DISCOVERED IN LIMESTONE CAVES NEAR SETTLE, CRAVEN, YORKSHIRE

Before entering upon the Romano-British period, it may be well, despite Mr. Wright's dictum, to submit proofs of an intermediate occupation of the caves by a much more refined race than that just described, a people well acquainted with the metal bronze, if not also with iron. Ornaments have been found in the caves, of a class which has hitherto escaped public notice, although the best examples have been in the possession of Mr. Jackson for some years, viz., circular bronze brooches of unusual construction and design, as also of a high class of art, whoever may prove to have been the designers and fabricators. Two of these brooches now made public by our lithographic plate,—viz., Nos. I and II—are mainly composed of a strong and circular cast bronze disk, upon the front of which was secured, by some species of solder a thin ornamental plate, likewise of bronze, the back being duly provided with an *acus* and a flange for securing the point of this, after piercing the dress. Several other specimens have been found, inclusive of one by the writer, in June of last year; but, save upon the two exhibited, none of the ornamental portion has remained. It would seem that the wet slimy matter, in or immediately under which these objects are found, has decomposed the solder, causing the outer plating to shell off, and it was with no little trouble that Mr. Jackson was enabled to preserve the valuable remains now published. But though few in number, these ornaments suffice to prove, in their superior execution, no second-rate artist's workmanship; whilst their boldness and freedom of design, differing, and yet so alike in general character, must be admitted by all. Now it so happens that none of the Roman fibulæ or other ornaments found in this country, innumerable and of infinite variety as they are, display the peculiar character and design of these; their patterns being, almost without exception, engraved upon, or cast in, the solid metal of the objects. Even the very shape is most unusual, for intimate as we all are with the circular

fibula securing the toga or other dress, as displayed upon Roman coin, statuary and painting, (inclusive, of course, of frescoes and mosaics,) *probably not one brooch in a thousand is found of this form,* either here or upon the continent, their remarkable scarcity conducing to the belief that although not in general use, circular fibulæ were nevertheless highly esteemed as lordly or imperial. No. IV is of the same shape, but smaller in size, and possesses a projecting rim, no doubt to protect the ornament, once inlaid but now lost. No. III is of a yellower or more brassy bronze than the others, and has been formed much like an antique circular and convex shield with projecting *umbo,* and the addition of six small points; there has been a setting of stone or coloured enamel around the central pivot, but this has perished. No. V is simply formed of stout bronze wire, convoluted at either end, and furnished with a pin; it belongs apparently to a class of personal ornaments by no means often found in this country, but frequently in ancient Scandinavia, and it is probably coeval with the other brooches. But, whatever may be the opinion of antiquaries as regards Nos. III, IV and V, I have little doubt they will unite with Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Mayer and others, in acknowledging Nos. I and II as *British,* (Celtic) *i.e.,* of a fabrication certainly distinct from Roman, and possibly native,* although dating from about the commencement of our era. A brooch, which has all the appearance of belonging to the same category as these, but which it is to be feared is lost, was found with *ancient British* coins and sepulchral urns at Lancing Down, in Sussex, in 1828, and is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* July, 1830, plate II; but ignorantly included in "Roman remains." Its design, likewise of a spirited character, represents a sea monster, its tail terminating in a *crescent,* which ornament appears on each

* Or *Gaulish,* objects of this class having been discovered more frequently in France than elsewhere.

of the examples from the Victoria cave. Had these been of later, *i.e.* a Christian age, their designs would assuredly have been referred by many to a theologico-trinitarian origin, so marked is the tripartite or trifoliate character. The crescent also appears upon coins of the Brigantes, including some attributed to Boadicea.

Although Mr. Wright endeavours to throw complete discredit upon the alleged close intercourse of ancient Britain with Phœnician (including Carthaginian) traders,* and the consequent possession by its natives of Tyrian manufactures, more especially the swords and personal ornaments believed to have been in use upon the arrival of the Roman invaders, I think no unprejudiced student can pursue the subject without a growing conviction of its truth. The brooches just described, for example, are infinitely more akin to Phœnician than any other ancient ornamentation, and it is well known by numismatists, that the coins of this period in use among the ruling tribes of Britain—Brigantes, Silures, Trinobantes and others —are designed, not from Roman but from Phœnician, Carthaginian or Greek originals. More confirmatory still, coins fabricated in Greece and Carthage have been found in several parts of Britain, as in the Isle of Wight and upon our own Cheshire shore. At Aldborough, in Yorkshire, the ancient Brigantian capital *Yseur*, a very remarkable relic was found, and is now preserved in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York. It is of bronze and represents a human face surmounted by the horns of a cow, the rest of the figure being evidently modelled from this animal.† A second, of very similar character, found upon our neighbouring Cheshire shore, is figured in Dr. Hume's *Ancient Meols* and, together with the Punic coins, is in the possession of

* A belief supported by the authorities Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo and others, and unintentionally confirmed by Pliny.

† A representation of this singularly interesting relic is engraved in my *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, plate XXV A.

Mr. Joseph Mayer. The significance of these "finds," which may not prove to be isolated ones, lies in the fact that the very earliest form in which their goddess Isis was symbolized and worshipped by the ancient Egyptians, was that of a human-faced cow.* The theology of this people, or rather, perhaps, its religious symbolism, spreading to the neighbouring Phœnician colony of Carthage, was thence conveyed to the shores of Britain. In a recent interesting work *Carthage and its Remains*, by Dr. N. Davis, a quotation appears from Avianus's *Ora Maritima*, as given by Heeren in his *Historical Researches*, and thus rendered—"where the ocean "flood presses in and spreads wide the Mediterranean waters, "lies the Atlantic Gulph. Here rises the head of the "promontory, in olden times Œstrymnon (probably Cape "Finisterre) and below the like named bay and isles, (no "doubt the Scilly Isles, also called the Cassiterides,) *wide "they stretch, and are rich in metals, tin and lead.* There "a numerous race dwell, endowed with spirit and no slight "industry, busied all in the cares of trade alone. They "navigate the sea in their barks, built not of pine or oak, "but wondrous! *made of skins and leather.* Two days long "is the voyage to the Holy Island, once so called, which lies "expanded on the sea, the dwelling of the Hibernian race: "at hand lies the Isle of Albion. Of old the trading "voyages from Tartassus reached to the Œstrymnides; but "the Carthagenians and their colonies near the Pillars of "Hercules navigated this sea, which Hamilco, by his own "account, was upon for four months. . . . . Beyond "the Pillars of Hercules, on Europe's coast, Carthage's "people of yore *possessed many towns and places.*"† This is valuable confirmatory evidence of Punic intercourse with

* "Isis, the daughter of the River Inachus, was by Jupiter turned into a cow and so conveyed into Egypt, where it should seem she and Apis were *horned deities.*" *Greek Mythology. Vide Burton's Commentaries*, p. 56-7.

† *Poetæ Latini minores*, tom. v, p. 3, ed. Wernsdorf.

Britain, and allusion having been made to the probable introduction of the worship of Isis through this source, we may also remember that many traces of such adoration exist in our local nomenclature; no less than three of our English rivers being named after this goddess, and as regards Yseur (subsequently the Roman Isurium and the present Aldborough, near Borough-bridge) where her symbol, the human-faced cow, was found, the name is itself a compound of *Isis* and *Urus*, the pre-Roman designations of the rivers now known as Ouse and Ure, which unite their historic streams a little below the ancient city of the Brigantes.

The traces likewise of Phœnician worship still linger in our midst, more especially in Scotland and Ireland in the *Beltane* games, and even one of its rites—*that of passing through the fire*—is yet, unknowingly, practised in certain localities, in fact, in this very neighbourhood. Again, Phœnician cabalistic or divining *stones*—often mentioned in Holy Writ—are found in ancient British, as well as Pagan Saxon cemeteries; and objects of this class continued in use by astrologers to within a couple of centuries of our own day. Of the favourite deity of Phœnicia,* *Belisama*, the early name of the estuary of the Ribble, Hill *Bel* in Westmoreland, and other geographical names in England and Ireland, bear unmistakable memorial, whilst Cœr, Car or Kir—Phœnician and Hebrew for a walled or in other ways a fortified position —abounds in Cornish, Welsh and South Irish topography, appearing also in Carlisle, Cær-vorran in ~~Durham,~~ Car-dykes and other names of ancient places in England. The Rev. Thomas Stackhouse in his able *Lectures on the Architectural Remains of Ancient or Pagan Britain*, after dwelling upon some of the points just alluded to, remarks (p. 29) :—"The "abundance of these vestiges of Canaanitish idolatry and the

* Belasamain "Queen of Heaven;" she was worshipped by the Cornarii and other British tribes.

"remains of the Phœnician language in Cornwall confirm the "assertions of ancient historians, that the Phœnicians carried "on the tin trade with this country centuries before any "other people participated in it. Mention is made of this "metal as being known in Palestine in the days of Moses, as "in the following passage 'only the gold and the silver, the "*brass*, the iron, the *tin* and the lead,' (Numbers xxxi, 22.) "From the metals thus enumerated, tin must necessarily be "one, for the word brass either means copper only, or an "alloy of copper; if the latter, it was an alloy (also) of tin, "for such was the ancient brass; therefore tin is not only "noticed singly, but is also implied in the word brass. This "carries the tin trade as far back as the *fifteenth century* "*before Christ*. Homer, who flourished a thousand years "before the Christian era, frequently mentions this metal (in "the Iliad) and the Grecians gave the name of Cassiterrides "or the Islands of Tin to the Scilly Isles. There can be no "doubt with respect to the Phœnician origin of most of the "ancient *erections of stone* in Britain."

Mr. Wright attempts to make great capital from his acquaintance with old Cornish mines, where he has met with no traces of workings more ancient than those of *Roman times*, by which he would seem to mean the time of the Roman occupation of this country, but it is too loose an expression for such a discussion and apt to mislead, inasmuch as many arts might have been introduced here in pre-Claudian times, during which Rome, though effectually consolidating her power on the neighbouring continent, had made her influence but little felt as yet beyond the southern shores of Britain. Reverting to the Cornish miners, it would perhaps be difficult to find in all this country a more outlandish and ignorant set of men or one more likely at once to appropriate and turn to their own purposes any ancient tools they might find in the many early workings, which have undeniably been discovered, but

upon which no one who has not been long and thoroughly conversant in copper and tin mining operations, is likely to be a *trustworthy authority*.

Proceeding to the recognized Roman-British period, represented, in reference to the Craven caves, by a series of small objects of divers use, it may at once be admitted that a portion,—perhaps the larger portion of them,—bear out the remarks of the several antiquaries quoted, their paternity being unquestionably due to the latter part of the Roman occupation, and the stormy and troublous ages immediately preceding, as well as succeeding, the ultimate withdrawal of the Imperial legions, in the beginning of the fifth century. Mr. Wright, however, goes further, insisting that *all* are of late Roman origin, seeking confirmation of this too hasty assumption, by reference to Kent's Hole, near Torquay, and Heathery Burn, near Stanhope, Durham, where he reports all the objects to similarly evidence the great decay in art attributable to this era. As regards the Craven caves I make bold to assert that such a conclusion is not borne out by late discoveries, or even by those long since effected, inasmuch as a fair proportion of the objects prove, upon examination, to be of good execution and equal to the products of many of the Roman stations. It is to be feared Mr. Wright has only made their acquaintance through the medium of Mr. Smith's plates in *Coll. Antiqua*, which, in this instance, by no means do justice to some of the objects in bronze. After a careful examination of those in Mr. Jackson's collection, with reports of others formerly in Mr. Farrer's possession, confirmed by a very fine fibula, broken but *unworn*, which I had the pleasure of finding last June, I can confidently affirm that many of the brooches and other bronze ornaments belong to a good artistic age, properly represented by the coins found here, in addition to those of the lower empire, comprising a silver *denarius* of Trajan,

and bronze pieces of Nero, Nerva, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The beautiful bronze brooches of our plate, probably unique in their precise variety of design, will, according to Mr. Wright's new dogma, be accounted by this gentleman as Roman; but here he is placed on the horns of a dilemma; for neither upon *late Roman times* (as he asserts all our cave objects of this class to be of), nor yet the succeeding still more barbarous eras, will either he or any other skilful antiquary venture to father these interesting ornaments. But early Roman manufactures have occurred in other caverns, as Kirkhead, in Cartmel, Thor's cave in Derbyshire and several in France.

Although nearly all the Craven caves still become, more or less, the beds of small watercourses during the winter season, and all are thickly floored by alluvial depositions, yet the favourite idea of certain geologists—that the antiquarian relics have all been washed in from above, is perfectly untenable. The caverns, as already stated, lie in very high and exposed situations, and consequently it could only be from the very summits of the hills, wherever level, that such removal by water could be effected, inasmuch as the sweeping of floods down the valley, so as to affect these caverns, within the last five thousand years, is out of the question. But even those few level hill-tops, from their bleak and yet far from commanding position, are wholly unsuited for the construction or maintenance of either early British villages or later Roman or Saxon camps, which we never find so placed. The only remaining neighbouring example of a camp lies nearly half-way down the valley, and, considering its elevation, in a comparatively sheltered location. No trace of such fortifications occurs *upon* these broken scaurs. The nearest Roman roads are somewhat distant (sixty miles), these being the one from Overborough (*Bremetonaceæ*) to Ribchester, and the other from Ilkly (*Olicana*) to the same place. Nevertheless, we can

admit no doubt as to the Victoria and Dowkerbottom caves having been occupied in Roman times, the presence of fragments of Roman sepulchral urns settling the question completely; for such, containing merely the dry ashes of the departed, were frequently retained by the nearest relatives in their residences. Again, the human relics (save a few primeval flints) are never found, where they assuredly would be if carried in by water, *i.e.*, *in* the deep clay beds. They occur either in the soft or the hard stalagmite, evidencing human occupation whilst the cave was not subject to flood or other violent intrusion of matter, but during a perfectly quiescent state, essential to the free agglomeration of the stalagmitic bed in which the artificial remains invariably are found, when not upon the natural rock-floor, which, however, has rarely been the case.

Before concluding, further reference should be made to an interesting cave, found also in the limestone in this very county so lately as May of last year. I allude to that discovered in one of the most westerly outlying spurs of the limestone hilly region, viz., Kirkhead Hill, Kent's Bank, near Ulverston, which I am sorry not to have had the pleasure of personally inspecting; but the products, so far as known, remarkably confirm the conclusions to which I have arrived relative to the eastward group. Mr. J. P. Morris, of Ulverston, who is systematically exploring this recess on behalf of the Anthropological Society, writes me, relative to its main features, as follows :—

"The entrance is about eighty-five feet above high water "mark. The floor is a *compound of bones*, earth, *charcoal*, "angular fragments of limestone, and *water-worn pebbles* "of blue slate. The human remains are very numerous, "consisting of crania (in fragments), jaws with teeth, "arm and leg bones &c., several portions of pottery and "implements of stone, bone and iron. One of the implements "is the metatarsal bone of a young pig, with a very evenly "drilled hole through its centre. Professor Busk thinks this

"a *whistle*, as it is made similarly to those found in the "south of France, belonging to the reindeer period. Only "one coin has as yet been found, which is of the *Roman* "*Emperor Domitian*;* I found it covered by a few inches of "the soil. The animal remains consist principally of the "*stag, roebuck, small ox*, wild boar, pig, fox, badger, goat, "wild cat, water vole and old English black rat. I have "numbers of bones yet undetermined, but I find all those "*containing marrow to have been split open longitudinally,* "*whilst upon others are marks of both metal and stone* "*implements, according to the depth at which they occur.* "The human remains represent all ages from the child to the "adult; in one portion of a child's jaw the permanent teeth "are just forward, and are thrusting out the deciduous ones."

Since the above was penned explorations have been re-commenced with every prospect of success, and Mr. Morris reports the discovery of immense quantities of *human bones*, along with a fine looped *chisel*, (too commonly called a celt,) *dagger*, and a very remarkable cutting instrument, in *bronze*; a Roman axe and hammer head in *iron*; rudely fashioned early British pottery, *perforated for suspension;* lastly, some ornaments, comprising a trefoil-shaped Roman fibula, and an enamelled pin, with beads of amber and earthenware.†

In the preceding pages many interesting questions have been raised, affording scope for discussion of a far more comprehensive character than present limits will admit, and a short summary must conclude this paper.

We know that beasts of prey and other of the largest

* The presence of Roman coins does not necessarily imply an absolutely coeval occupation, such pieces remaining in circulation for several centuries. In the Victoria cave, however, we have other evidence confirmatory of contemporaneous residence, as very probably may yet be discovered in Kirkhead.

† Mr. Morris reports the discovery of a second cavern in the western promontory of Cartmel, "Capeshead Cave," containing human bones, which as usual occur in the stalagmitic carpeting of the clay floor. No traces of man's handicraft have hitherto been noticed, the recess not having yet been thoroughly looked over, to say nothing of the promised complete excavation which may possibly provide other materials of most legitimate interest for the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

mammalia have dwelt in our land, possibly under very differing circumstances of temperature &c. to those existing, and have resorted for shelter or other temporary object to the extensive and numerous caves abounding in some of our hilly districts, but it has not yet been clearly demonstrated that their remains are *absolutely associated* with those of any race of man existing within the last two thousand years, or sufficiently so to prove unmistakeable contemporaneity. Allusion is here made to the lion, rhinoceros, elephant, hippopotamus, hyæna, cave tiger, European bear and great Irish deer. At the commencement of our era the Romans found here the large primeval ox, the long-fronted (or short horned) ox, wild boar, one or two species of red deer, roebuck, goat, wolf, wolfdog and badger, all of which—save perhaps the roebuck, said still to exist in the wilds of Devon—have since become extinct in this country although some have merged into extant species. Their remains, along with Romano-British relics, are, with the exception of the large ox, of frequent occurrence, completely establishing their existence at least during the greater part of the Roman occupancy of this country, and it is a noteworthy fact that bones of the native wolfdog (*Canis primævus*) occur more frequently than any other in the Craven caves, and usually associated with those of the rat on the latest natural floors of several of them when first examined, shewing a later habitation by these animals than by man. Indeed, no object recognized as of exclusively Saxon or early English origin has been discovered in these caves; the only articles of an archæological character, later than about the sixth century, so far as known, being a few silver pennies of Edward II or III, these being found, not in any of the caves above-named, but in one of secondary note, situate in the range of scaur bearing the name of the Attermire Rocks, and nearly a mile from the Victoria cave. It was in Yorkshire, we must remember, that

a price was last set upon the head of a wolf,—at least it is so stated by Topham,—and consequently those uncultivated and cavern-furnished wilds may fairly claim to have been among the last resorts in England of this once national scourge.

Summing up all the present available evidence, I beg to submit—

Firstly, that the Craven caves, originally mere volcanic crevices in the limestone, enlarged by running water, were the resort of large beasts of prey when dry, but, becoming increasingly subject to inundation, the remains of destroyer and destroyed became commingled with the alluvial clay deposited along with a few rude instruments, these having been fabricated by a primeval race of men, occasionally inhabiting the caves during war or whilst engaged in the chase.

Secondly, that after long ages of alluvial deposition, they became the temporary abode of a partially civilized race, possibly merely sojourning in these *now* upland regions—like the peasants of Sweden and Norway, with their cattle during the summer months, at the present day—making many of their ornaments of *bone*, and their weapons still chiefly of *stone* and *flint*.

Thirdly, as the occasional or accidental resort of a comparatively civilized people, who, by communication with the coast and the foreigners trading thereto, had acquired some knowledge of metals, and could appreciate an artistic ornament for the adornment of their persons.

Fourthly, as a temporary refuge of a more or less Romanized people during some sudden incursion of northern barbarians, or in the last gallant struggles of the Brigantes with the might and discipline of Rome.

Fifthly, as still a refuge when, on the gradual retirement of the Imperial legionaries from Britain for the defence of the more central portion of the Empire, the North became fearfully subject to inroads from her ancient foes beyond the wall, and no man's tenement was safe.

Sixthly, and lastly, as the dreary abode of badgers, foxes, and wolves, preying upon the increasing flocks of a country whose inhabitants were at length settling down into peaceful occupations; until, these vermin effectually exterminated, the Craven caves were left to the custody of rats, who fed for ages upon the bones of their numerous predecessors. It was reserved for our own century to witness here the first enthusiastic groping and grubbing of the antiquary, associated with the dimly theorizing generalization of the geologist and ethnologist.

The sister sciences of Geology and Archæology, great and splendid as have been the recent efforts and successes of their more earnest professors, evidently offer a glorious harvest in the future. They may not be inaptly termed dark, mystic and long neglected chambers in the great temple of human knowledge, the mere portals of which have as yet alone been traversed, even by the most daring and enthusiastic of their votaries.

NOTE.—The foregoing description of the Craven district appearing somewhat meagre as regards its geological features, the writer will, he trusts, be excused in his adding some characteristic remarks of Mr. Gilbert Baker, in his *North Yorkshire; Studies of its Botany, Geology, Climate and Physical Geography*,* which will be found to bear an important relation to the subject-matter of this paper.

"The Lower Mountain Limestone is more or less exposed to view in "the depths of each of the three principal dales of the western moor- "lands—Teesdale, Swaledale and Yoredale. A long line of strongly "marked dislocation passes northward from the Ingleborough district "to the mountains round the source of the South Tyne, an idea of the "tremendous character of which may be gathered from the fact that

* Longman and Co., London, 1863.

" for a length of forty-five miles, the strata are displaced to the extent " of at least 3,000 feet. An observer stationed upon the elevated edge " on the east of this line, stands upon millstone-grit strata, with a thick " mass of mountain limestone beneath them, and sees out-stretched, " 2,000 feet below him, the valley of the Eden and the plain of Carlisle, " where these same mountain limestone and millstone-grit beds are " buried beneath superincumbent deposits of New Red Sandstone. " Along this main line of dislocation, known by the name of the " *Pennine Fault*, and in the Craven country about Settle, the lower " mountain limestone is seen to the best advantage. Here it forms a " compact calcareous mass about four hundred feet in thickness, with " very little interpolation of non-calcareous material, with numerous " vertical fissures; and in some places, as for instance on the south- " eastern slope of Ingleborough, it may be seen with its lower beds full " of broken slate boulders resting upon masses of dark coloured Silurian " slate. The steep precipices which girdle Langstrothdale, Littondale, " Gordale, Ribblesdale, Ingletondale and Kingsdale, and the thick mass " of caverned and fissured limestone that forms the general base of " the well-known Craven hills, Fountains Fell, Inlgeborough, Penny- " ghent and Whernside, must all be referred here. Along the western " border of the county it forms the lower part of the great Pennine " escarpment, still shewing fine limestone scaurs as far north as the " country round the head of the Tees. As it passes towards the north, " both along the edge of this line and in the interior of the moorland " mass, it loses the distinctly marked calcareous stamp which charac- " terizes it in Craven, and the farther it goes in that direction argilla- " ceous and arenaceous bands are more and more mixed up with the " limestone."

ON SOME RESULTS OF THE CENSUS OF THE DEAF AND DUMB IN 1861.

By David Buxton, F.R.S.L.,

Principal of the Liverpool School for the Deaf and Dumb.

(Read 16th February, 1865.)

I cannot claim for the present subject that it is one of popular or even general interest; but its importance is beyond dispute. As a matter of education, and as a department of social science, it is interesting to some who have no special concern with the deaf and dumb; but to those who have such an interest, no subject can be more attractive.

The first decennial census of Great Britain which collected facts on this subject was that of 1851. Those facts, though imperfect, were valuable. Still they stood alone. Comparison was impossible, for we had not the means of comparison. Now we have. The census of 1861 has given us another group of facts, treating of the same class of persons, going over the same ground, after an interval of ten years. So now, for the first time we have, in this particular branch of enquiry, those means of comparison which have been so largely employed, with such valuable results, in other fields of investigation with which the census deals.

Such comparison I purpose now to enter upon.

In order to present the enquiry in the form which will be most in harmony with the scope of the social science philanthropist and the friend of education, I shall address myself in the first instance to the proper answer to two enquiries.

1. Has the number of the deaf and dumb increased between 1851 and 1861?

2. Has education, or the means of education, increased in an equal or greater proportion?

Our first enquiry then is—Has the number of the deaf and dumb increased since 1851? The answer is—Yes. And if we further ask—Where has this increase taken place? The answer is—In every part of the United Kingdom. In Great Britain and the islands of the British seas, taking the total, there is an increase; and the same is found in every separate member contributing to that aggregate, viz., England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland and the islands in the adjacent seas. In Great Britain and Ireland, and the islands, the deaf and dumb have increased during the years 1851-1861 from a total of 17,300, or 1 in 1,590, to 20,311, or 1 in 1,432. Not only is this so, but in every one of the eleven registration divisions in England and Wales the same result is shown. Deaf mutes have increased throughout the United Kingdom as follows:—

	From	Proportion one in	To	Proportion one in
In England and Wales	10314	1738	12236	1640
Scotland	2155	1340	2335	1311
Ireland	4747	1380	4930*	1176
Islands of the British Seas	84	1704	87	1649
I.—London	1325	1783	1819	1542
II.—S. Eastern Counties	836	1948	1022	1808
III.—S. Midland do	649	1902	789	1642
IV.—Eastern do	669	1665	729	1567
V.—S. Western do	1295	1393 =	1321	1390
VI.—W. Midland do	1325	1610	1613	1511
VII.—N. Midland do	694	1750	748	1723
VIII.—N. Western do	1237	2014	1582	1856
IX.—Yorkshire	1042	1717	1222	1649
X.—Northern Counties	471	2058	577	1995
XI.—Wales and Monmouthshire	771	1542 (excpl.)	814	1613

* The total given in the Irish Returns is 5,653, but 723 are stated to be "Dumb, not Deaf."

Thus we see that in every District the number of the deaf and dumb has increased, and we know that the aggregate population has increased as well. But besides this, in every separate District but one, the proportion of the deaf and dumb to the general population has increased also: that is to say, in any given number of our population, there is a larger number of deaf and dumb persons now than there was in 1851. The rate of increase in the general population is 12 per cent., but the increase in the number of the deaf and dumb during the same period was 19 per cent. There were—*e.g.*, in the two counties of Lancaster and Chester, which form our own immediate district—1,582 deaf and dumb in 1861, or 1 in 1,856, as against 1,237 in 1851, or 1 in 2,014.*

In the South Western District (Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset) the proportion of the deaf and dumb to the population has undergone scarcely any change (the difference between 1 in 1,393 in 1851 and 1 in 1,390 in 1861 being quite immaterial); and in the district of Wales alone the proportion is absolutely less. The number of deaf mutes has increased from 771 to 814, but the general population has increased in a much greater proportion; so that the deaf and dumb in the Principality, who in 1851 were as 1 in 1,542, were in 1861 as 1 in 1,613.

This is the only instance of the kind—the only exception to the general rule of increased proportion throughout the census returns.

Thus our first question is fully and completely answered. Between 1851 and 1861 the deaf mute population of the United Kingdom increased very largely.

* A portion of this increase is probably due to the fact that the returns were made with greater accuracy at the last census than in 1851, when the deaf and dumb were separately enumerated for the first time. It is right to mention this, though it does not affect the fact that we have actually a larger deaf and dumb population now than we had then, and therefore require increased means of education.

Our second question is—Have the means of education increased in an equal or greater proportion?

A satisfactory answer to this question is most to be desired, as affording the only relief which a benevolent mind can receive on a consideration of the painful fact disclosed in the former answer. And here again the answer is as conclusive as in the former case, and far more gratifying.

The number of "pupils in institutions" in the three kingdoms stood as follows, at the two periods under consideration:—

		1851.		1861.	
In 11	Schools in England.....	816	pupils.	1001	pupils.
5	„ Scotland.....	250	„	240	„
7	„ Ireland	234	„	400	„
23		1300		1641	„
	Under private tuition—at least.....			9	„
				1650	„

This increase of 350 on 1,300 is equal to 27 per cent. Viewed separately, in England the increase is 25 per cent; in Scotland there appears a falling off; in Ireland the increase is large and striking: and it is to be accounted for by the fact that each religious denomination in that country possesses now (and this has not always been the case) institutions in which the children belonging to its own communion can be educated in accordance with its own forms of belief.

We thus arrive at the conclusion which answers our second question, and find—that the general population has increased at the rate of 12 per cent.; the deaf and dumb, 19 per cent.; the number of pupils in the deaf and dumb institutions, 25 to 27 per cent. Thus the means of education have increased in a still greater proportion than that in which the deaf and dumb have themselves increased.

But any statement, which merely sets forth the increase in

the number of pupils, would very inadequately represent the improvement which has taken place in the social and intellectual condition of the deaf and dumb during the last ten or fifteen years. It is therefore right to add, that a larger number of them are engaged in industrial and remunerative occupations; the number of occupations in which they are found employed has largely increased; and the character of these employments has markedly improved. They make their way in the world; they stretch further; they rise higher; they hold their own in the competition of every-day life; they unite with each other in designs which promote their common benefit; and I believe that a survey of their condition at the present time would afford more satisfaction to those who wish them well, than could have been afforded at any former period. One hundred years ago the condition of the deaf mute was one of total darkness; seventy, nay fifty years ago, one institution existed in Great Britain—*one only;* forty years ago, our own was founded; but really we may say that education has only been readily accessible to the deaf and dumb poor (and the poor form by far the largest class of these afflicted ones) within the last twenty-five years. This is a fact which we must in common justice bear in mind when considering the social progress and condition of the deaf and dumb. What have you a fair right to expect of a class who have only been enfranchised, so to speak, in the ranks of ordinary workmen—who have only begun to appear as a noticeable element in social life—as fathers, tenants, tradesmen, artists, servants of the Crown, testators or legatees, within the last quarter of a century?

In the census report of 1861 for England and Wales, it is stated, with respect to those pursuits "which sweeten the life "of man by extending his usefulness," that "a few of the deaf "and dumb are engaged in the professions, including three "in the Civil Service, one conveyancer, forty-eight artists and

"engravers, thirteen schoolmasters and teachers, nine school-
"mistresses and female teachers." Passing the other occu-
pations of men, and turning to those of the women and girls, it
is noticeable that there are "four hundred and seventy-five
"dressmakers and seamstresses, two hundred and eighty-one
"domestic servants, one hundred and twenty-eight laundresses,
"seventy-five employed in the cotton manufacture, and forty-
"seven charwomen." Sixty-seven are returned as wives, and
sixteen as widows. This I have gathered from the English
census returns; but those of the Irish Commissioners were
published first, and with them I was, until lately, chiefly
conversant. Indeed they are in some respects our only guide.
That they also furnish fair grounds for tenable and probable
inferences, as respects our own population, is indubitable;
but inference is all. Facts are found in the Irish returns;
for there are peculiar opportunities in that country for
making close and accurate investigation, as well as of prose-
cuting further subsequent enquiries with a view to verification,
which would not be possible in this country. The Irish
constabulary is the agency which has been employed to obtain
the much larger, and in every sense very valuable, data
which we find in the Irish census; but I do not think the
proposal to employ a similar organization in this country for
the like purpose is very likely to be made, and I am very sure
that if made it would most certainly be defeated.

The Irish returns contain, amongst other things, statistics
of mendicancy; and these, though indirect, are most interest-
ing and telling proofs of the advance of education among
the deaf and dumb: because it is education which makes
the deaf mute into a workman. All that he *can be* without
education is, either (1) a labourer of the very humblest class,
or (2) a burdensome, unremunerative pauper, or (3) a men-
dicant.

The returns tell us most plainly—

1st.—That the number of pupils (Class A) has increased.

2nd.—That the number of occupied persons (*i.e.*, work-people—Class B) has increased.

3rd.—That the number of resident paupers in workhouses (Class C) has decreased.

4th.—That the number of beggars (Class D) has also decreased.

Let us put the fact in another way. Education, or the want of it, makes the deaf and dumb self-supporting or dependent. An increase in Class A (children at school), causes an increase in Class B (adults at work). Those who do not enter into Class A, and proceed in process of time into Class B, are inevitably found in Classes C (paupers in workhouses), or D (mendicants). Now while the total number of the deaf and dumb is larger than it was ten years ago, the number in these two inferior classes is very considerably smaller; but the number now under instruction (Class A), and those who have been educated and are at work (Class B), have very considerably increased. This, I think, is most valuable evidence of the fact, that education *can* transfer the deaf mute out of the dependent and burdensome classes into the self-supporting class:—this I say is a demonstrated possibility; and that the existing means and appliances of education have successfully accomplished, and are regularly and ordinarily effecting, this most desirable purpose:—this again is an actual result.

And here I will observe that these figures point at another interesting fact, that the deaf and dumb as a class shun begging. It may surprise some who hear me to have the fact thus broadly stated; but it *is* a fact, that a deaf and dumb mendicant is about the rarest specimen of humanity to be found anywhere. Those who appear to be deaf and dumb, and are found begging, are in almost every case—the excep-

tions being exceedingly few—wicked impostors. Having myself spoiled the game of a good many of these worthies, I know their pleas and modes of procedure pretty well. Of course the *obvious* defect in the deaf and dumb is the want of speech, but the *radical* defect is the want of hearing. The impostor simulates the first, often very artfully; but those who are well acquainted with the deaf and dumb possess a power of distinguishing real from assumed deafness, which none of these impostors can provide against. They pretend to be unable to speak; and in proof of this they call attention to the mouth; there is malformation or some other peculiarity of the tongue. Be it so; but if the tongue was lost, cut out, destroyed, that would not make the man *deaf*. He might not be able to talk very intelligibly to me (though this is not certain), but at any rate he could perfectly well understand what I said to him; yet the impostor overlooks this, and he is caught. Again, if he makes any communications resembling those of the really deaf, he spells upon his fingers: he does not make signs. Now any one may learn the finger alphabet in a very short time, though facility in its use can only be acquired by practice; but spelling on the fingers only repeats words, and the uneducated deaf and dumb know nothing about words. Their natural language is one of signs, motions, and gestures: these, employed by them, convey their meaning without words. Words are only another later and more tedious way of conveying the same meaning. The educated deaf, after they have learned a written language, spell upon their fingers, but the uneducated never do so; and even the educated often revert to signs in their communications with each other, and they scarcely ever forget them—if they do, it is as rare an occurrence, and as little to be expected, as to find among our own fellows or contemporaries one who has so long and so habitually used another language as to have forgotten his own mother tongue. I once heard Moffat, the

African missionary, say he had nearly done this; but it is, as I have represented, a rare and exceptional case.

The impostor then spells upon his fingers, as any one may do; he does not use, and cannot understand, signs; though, if he were what he pretends to be, he would prefer signs and avoid spelling. But he does the very reverse of this, and then his deception is found out.

Sometimes he confines himself to writing. I remember a case in which Mr. Mansfield, when stipendiary magistrate of Liverpool, sent for me, where the man in the dock, beaten on the ground last described, gave up talking with his fingers, in despair, and would only communicate by writing. But this change of tactics did not afford him one whit the more security. This is indeed more dangerous ground than the other. The *ignorant* impostor spells badly, which the deaf and dumb never do. They know words only by their forms—are never misled by the sound—and their spelling is always correct, except from forgetfulness; but ignorant persons who *hear*, make the spelling follow the sound; and if one who pretends to be deaf and dumb does this, he is convicted of imposture, *ipso facto*, as it is proved to be hearing and not sight which guides him in his spelling. Other persons, of more capacity and education than the last class, write very well. In a word, they write *too well*. They use metaphorical expressions, colloquial or proverbial phrases, involved sentences—characteristics, of which not one is natural to the deaf and dumb, but which are attained only, if attained at all, after a lengthened term of training, and immense perseverance, observation, and reading on the part of the individual. The peculiarities of the compositions of deaf persons are incapable of imitation—scarcely capable of description—but are recognized immediately by those who are familiar with them. The most expert and accomplished deceiver would be infallibly discovered by this test, if he was fortunate enough to evade

every other. And these modes of detection are various. I unmasked one adventurer who had deceived very intelligent people for many months, by discovering that when he was set to write, he *printed* the letters, he did not *write* them, and he could only recognize the letters of a word when it *was* printed; whereas, if he had been to school at all (which his professing to spell on his fingers implied), he would certainly have been taught to form written characters first, and not printed Roman capitals. This was a most indomitable rogue. A gentleman had taken him to live for a while at his house in the country. He had supplied him with food, clothes, and money, and was anxious to have him placed where he could be educated. On application being made, he was elected, subject to my certificate of his eligibility. I pronounced him to be an impostor. Then I was met by a storm of incredulity, and endless arguments to prove that I must be wrong, and that the fellow really was what he pretended to be. The affair had somewhat of a serio-comic termination. A medical man thought he had hit upon an ingenious plan for ascertaining the truth, in describing in the lad's presence (and hearing of course, though professing to believe that he was deaf) a frightful operation which he said he would perform upon him to restore his speech—bringing out and displaying in the most elaborate way all the surgical instruments (applicable and inapplicable) which he could lay his hands upon, even to the insertion of an iron rod in the fire, which was to be applied when it was red hot. In all this the object of so much curious ingenuity was as stolid and apparently unconcerned as if he had been really deaf—though he saw every action and heard every word. A detective, who was in waiting, was ultimately called in; he was to hold the fellow while the surgeon operated. All this was done up to an inch of actual contact; and though the rascal fought, and roared, and struggled, he never spoke. The incredulous thought they

had triumphed, and that I was certainly wrong. However, after a whole evening had been spent over the case, without the anticipated result, the detective took him in charge, took him to the railway station, a considerable distance, waited for the train, got into it; and not until the end of the journey was nearly reached, and the terminus was at hand, did the pseudo-dumb fellow find his tongue, and beg to be "let off," as he would certainly never do the like again. The policeman came to me and said—"he has found his tongue at last, sir;" and surely enough, when he found the bridewell and magistrate before him, and no escape, he required no surgical operation to make him speak. Yet, strange to say, even after this, when the evidence of competent witnesses was forthcoming to the fact of his having spoken, the gentleman who had desired to befriend him asserted that, unless he did with his own ears hear him speak, he could not believe that he was not dumb. He had his wish. When the lad was brought up before the magistrate, and confronted with those whom he had so persistently deceived, and those who had seen the issue of the struggle between his obstinacy and his selfishness, my friend's incredulity was not of long continuance, though I believe in my heart that he was sorry to find himself undeceived.

I have, however, dwelt upon this topic longer, perhaps, than befits the present occasion and audience, except that I have done so with a view to the correction of a public evil; and this brings me to say again that the *bona fide* deaf and dumb beggar is an extremely rare personage. Persons of this class will work when they can get work; and when they cannot, they will endure—uncomplainingly—but they will not beg. In the first place they cannot be apt beggars: there is nothing in their appearance which pleads for help, and there is much in their deprivation which disqualifies them from seeking it. To the blind, in this respect, as in so many others,

they are a complete and perfect contrast. The appearance of the blind is itself a piteous plea in their behalf; and besides that, they *hear* the expressions of sympathy which their condition excites, and they have powers of thought and speech as perfect as ourselves, and can therefore make their wants and wishes known to every one, which the deaf and dumb can never do. They are, moreover, far more dependent upon others than the deaf and dumb are; and this makes them seek for help. Blindness, again, is often an accompaniment of general feebleness and old age; and this additionally swells the ranks of pauperism and mendicancy, so that while we regret, we can hardly wonder at the following results:—

	Mendicants.		Resident in Workhouses.		Total.
Blind, 1851	473	...	995	...	7587
Ditto, 1861	317	...	920	...	6879
Deaf and Dumb, 1851	135	...	296*	...	4747
Ditto, 1861	52	...	223	...	4930

These figures are taken from the Irish returns, and apply to that country only; but the inference to be drawn as regards Ireland would doubtless apply still more strongly to our own deaf mute population. In saying this, I am speaking of the *adult* deaf and dumb only. Most of the deaf and dumb children in these kingdoms *are* receiving, or *have* received, a certain amount of education; of the rest, some are disqualified for attendance at school by physical or mental weakness; and perhaps it may be true that some are sometimes found begging, and others may even be found thieving; and for this reason:—they may be trained to do *that*, as they may be trained to do *anything*—what is bad, as well as what is good—to violate the law, as well as to keep it.

* Of the 296 in workhouses in 1851, seventy-six were of the proper age for being at school; of 223 in 1861, only fourteen were so.

They simply, and in simplicity, do what others set them to do. With minds which cannot be addressed, and which therefore, previously to education, are inaccessible to counsel, threat or warning, they do wrong without meaning to do wrong, or knowing that it *is* wrong, at the instance of those who know better; and [the innocent offenders are in such cases often made the scapegoats of the culpable ones. When we can get such children away from associations like these, and gather them into our schools, they are rescued, temporarily and permanently; because when they are educated and grown up, they, knowing better, do better. It is the uneducated deaf and dumb who "get into trouble." Only one out of the 500 pupils who have passed through our school has become identified with the criminal class, and him we had been obliged to exclude. Indeed the number of deaf and dumb offenders altogether is very small indeed, as will be seen when I mention that at the request of Mr. Raffles, the present stipendiary magistrate, I made enquiry three or four years ago, as to the practicability of putting a juvenile deaf and dumb delinquent into a reformatory, when I found, after receiving answers from correspondents in various parts of the country, that there were no deaf and dumb criminals requiring a reformatory, or even the establishment of a deaf and dumb ward in any existing reformatory.

This shews in a very peculiar, but still a very conclusive way, the utility of our institutions as *preventive agencies*. A class which, if merely harmless, would be a burden, is made by education self-supporting, enterprising, and prosperous; but if it were ill-disposed, it would be a nuisance; yet, by this same agency, these deaf mutes become too proud to be beggars, and too honest and full of self-respect to be thieves. Surely to have done this is to have done something: to keep them out of the workhouse and the prison. But we do more than this; for we send them into the world competent for

life's duties, in the workshop, in their families, and in society, and to "walk in the house of God as friends."

And there are other ways in which this work of beneficence has been improved, consolidated and rendered lasting. Large sums have been raised and expended in the erection of new buildings, and in the enlargement of those previously erected. There is scarcely one of them which is now what it was in 1851—as regards extent and accommodations, merely. The institutions at Newcastle and Swansea and the infant school at Manchester have been built during this decade. Those in Liverpool, Birmingham, Exeter, Brighton, Doncaster have been, or are in process of being, largely extended and improved. Besides this, new developements of the work have taken place. I have just mentioned the infant school in Manchester—an experiment rendered more appropriate and necessary in Manchester, where mothers are frequently factory workers, than in any other place. This scheme owes its existence to the persevering advocacy of an eminent member of the medical profession in that city, Thomas Turner Esq., and the institution is under the management of one of our own members, Mr. William Stainer. Then, if we commence earlier than formerly, we do not leave off where we did. What sort of a scholar would he be who never opened a Greek or Latin book after he left school? What would anyone be, intellectually or religiously, if intellectual culture and religious instruction were limited to the time he spent at school, and were then suddenly arrested by his removal, and never continued afterwards? The experience of every one amongst us will enable him to see how dwarfed, inadequate, and poor this result would be, compared with that which *is* attained through the beneficial influence of society, books, study, and the opportunities of public worship. By these means our own stores of knowledge are constantly freshened and renewed, and further acquisitions are constantly made.

Picture to yourselves the mind in which this does not take place—where the physical deprivation of deafness makes intercommunication on almost all but the most familiar and practical subjects nearly impossible, except with a few persons. Of course there are exceptions to this. I need not be reminded of that. I do not for a moment forget it. But we must not be diverted by these exceptions from trying to fix our attention upon what must be the general, ordinary, and inevitable condition of the great bulk of this large class of our fellow citizens. It is more agreeable to dwell upon these exceptions; but we must not look upon the few until we overlook the many. The few can take care of themselves; and whatever is done for the welfare of the many is for their advantage also, though their necessity is not so great. Of the mass it is the simple truth to say that they are in humble circumstances, of moderate capacity, with moderate attainments, and could only spend a limited time at school, where they had to learn all that they ever have learned. How little did *we* learn at school to what we learned thereafter! The living voice is *our* teacher, speaking from the lips of all around us, and in the pages of the finest minds in all ages; but this voice can never break that silence in which the deaf mute is entombed; and it is spoken language alone which makes a written language vivid and vital. A language which is unspoken is, in more senses than the literal one, a *dead letter*. For the words we read only represent to us the words we spoke, long before we could read at all, and which we know are in familiar use by thousands of persons who cannot read a syllable: but to those who never spoke them, what can they have of that wonderful power of which we speak when we quote Gray's descriptive line—

"Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn?"

From all this instruction by the living voice, and from almost all but the mere outskirts of the world of letters, the vast

majority of the deaf and dumb have been long excluded. Our own education never ceases; we are constantly receiving knowledge; building upon the foundations laid in our early education at school. Who is to do this for the deaf and dumb? How is it to be done? Why are they who need it so much the more on account of their affliction to be left without any instruction in a language (the only language—the language of signs) "understood by the people" themselves? This is a question which has long pressed for an answer, and that answer it has now received. It is within this period of ten years, which has engaged our attention to-night, that this further advantage to the deaf and dumb has been gained. There are new agencies at work for the benefit of the adult deaf and dumb in the large towns of the kingdom, which aim at placing them in the same position, with respect to intellectual advantages and religious privileges, as is held by ourselves. In London and Manchester, separate societies are supported for this very work. While I am addressing you here, Mr. Turner, of Manchester, is addressing a deaf and dumb audience (if you will forgive the misnomer), in that city—giving the opening lecture of a course on the *Natural History of the Seasons*, which Mr. Stainer is interpreting by signs to those whom the voice of the speaker can never reach.

Every Sunday, in London, Manchester, Edinburgh and Glasgow; in Leeds, Sheffield, Halifax and Hull; at Ashton, Birmingham, Belfast, Brighton, and here in Liverpool, the adult deaf and dumb in these several localities are assembled together, and religious services are conducted in the only mode which enables them to take an intelligent and willing part in them—by their language of signs. We have our own service at the Institution in Oxford Street every Sunday afternoon. We have our congregation of far more than a hundred souls, every one of whom is deaf, except my assistants and myself. To see us in that hour's service—that one hour in

the week, remember, which is, to heart and mind, the prospect and the retrospect of all the week besides, to the attentive group which gathers round us—to see us then and there, if any of you could see it, might shew you what was meant in yesterday's *Courier* by the apt title of "Silent Sermons;" but there is one thing you never *would* see, and that is a sleepy congregation. It is impossible for me to say as much as might be said about this particular form of usefulness, on account of my own immediate connection with it, but I may mention that steps have been taken this very day for engrafting upon this a society for mutual help and benefit—for giving counsel and assistance, and affording to the members, in "trouble, sorrow, need, sickness or any other adversity," a friend and helper in their need.

And now, just briefly to recapitulate what has been said, I have shewn, I think—

1. That we have more deaf and dumb persons to teach now than we had in 1851.

2. That more of the deaf and dumb are taught.

3. That the education they receive is sound and serviceable, inasmuch as its effect is to make them respect themselves, and make them honest and industrious; for we find—

(*a*) That the paupers have diminished in number.

(*b*) The mendicants are almost non-existent.

(*c*) And criminals are entirely so.

4. That the number of those employed in remunerative occupations is much increased, and the area of employment considerably enlarged.

5. That the appliances of our Institutions are made to embrace far more of the life of the pupil than the school age. Infants are not too young, nor the aged too old, to be cared for and ministered to, by the agencies which were first called into existence for the instruction of youth, and are primarily and properly applied to that purpose.

To one who has devoted not much less than twenty-five years of the most active and energetic part of his life to this subject and to this class of the community, it is not without encouragement to be able to look back upon so much progress in which he has borne his part, and upon results which he has helped to gain; nor is it, may I add further, without much gratification that he has seen how willingly and sympathisingly you have listened to-night to the story he has had to tell.

THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY TO THE YEAR 1844.

By J. T. Towson, Esq., F.R.G.S.

(Read 9th February, 1865.)

In attempting to trace the progress of the Science of Photography, it is necessary to notice several distinct classes of discoveries, the combination of which was necessary to bring about its present advancement.

The mechanical department had its origin at the latter part of the sixteenth century, when John Baptist Porta invented the camera, by means of which instrument the rays of light are arranged so as to produce a picture of the objects from which those rays are reflected. The science of Chemistry in various ways contributed to the production of a photographic picture. In the first place, the action of light produces a change in the affinities of the salts, or other materials of which the photographic preparation consists, for other chemical preparations afterwards employed. This is sometimes attended by a change of the colour of the material acted on by light, but not always so. In this latter case, the developing process is necessary, and, under all circumstances, the fixing process is required to render the picture permanent. The first chemical discovery leading to the science of Photography was made by Scheel in 1777, who found that the solar ray darkened the chloride of silver. In 1801 Ritter discovered that on the nitrate and other salts of silver a similar effect was produced.

Wedgwood two years afterwards applied the last-named discovery to photographic purposes. He applied the solution of salts of silver to leather, and by this process he obtained copies from paintings on glass. But he remarks that—"No "attempts that have been made to prevent the uncoloured parts "of the copy or profile from being acted upon by light, have "as yet been successful. The images, formed by means of a "camera obscura, have been found to be too faint to produce "in any moderate time an effect upon nitrate of silver."

Although thus early in the present century advances were made in the science of Photography, it could not be said to exist as an art previously to 1839. It is true that Niepce, as early as 1814, produced pictures in the camera; and in 1829 Daguerre produced, on sheets of silver-plated copper, his pictures known by the name of Daguerreotype. But these discoveries remained hidden to the men of science and art until 1839, when the French Government purchased these secrets.

Immediately on the publication of the discoveries of M. Niepce and M. Daguerre, several English men of science, who had pursued researches in the same direction, were encouraged to exert greater diligence. They received further stimulus to pursue these investigations from the fact that the English artist was deprived, by a patent, of the endowment which the French government had bestowed on "the world "of science and of art." This ultimately led to the English School of Photography, that has now superseded the discoveries of Daguerre.

The processes of Niepce and Daguerre brought to light two departments of Photography not previously known—the developing and fixing processes. By their methods the impression made whilst the tablet was in the camera was scarcely, if at all, visible, but was made so by the developing process.

Niepce employed tablets of glass or of silver plated on copper, covered with a thin coating of asphaltum. These were exposed *from six to eight hours* in the camera, when a faint outline only was visible. The development was accomplished by a solvent, that acted less readily on the asphaltum that had been exposed to light, than on that which had remained comparatively in shade.

The process of Daguerre was far more complicated. All his pictures were imprinted on silver plated on copper, and consisted of five operations; and most of these were very delicate, and required very skilful manipulation. Still for several years it defied competition. Perhaps, however, the greatest ultimate value of the discoveries of Daguerre consisted in directing the attention of the photographers generally to the fact, that imperceptible impressions may be made in the camera, which certain developing re-agents, when applied, would render visible.

The "fixing process" of Daguerre may also be regarded as one of the greatest discoveries in connection with Photography, The other methods adopted, previously to his discovery being known, may be described as the rendering that part of the preparation not acted on by light less sensitive, rather than in absolutely protecting it from the further influence of the solar ray. Daguerre's method was by the employment of a solution of hyposulphite of soda, by which he dissolved and thus removed the salts of silver not acted upon by light, rendering the picture absolutely fixed, as far as the further action of light is concerned. The materials employed by others at this time were common salt, iodides or bromides, which converted the whole of the salts of silver not acted on by light into a chloride, iodide or bromide as the case may be. Each of these salts, uncombined with other salts of silver, is far less sensitive than a preparation in which various salts of

silver are present in determined proportions. The hyposulphite of soda has been employed down to the present day for fixing photographs; either this salt or the cyanide of potassium is, I believe, now universally employed for that purpose.

Down to the year 1840 still-life objects alone could be depicted by Photography. When Daguerre published his process, a period of twenty minutes was required to obtain a good picture of an object; and the other photographic processes then known required even a longer period of time. Several chemists and others, during this and the former year, had laboured in endeavouring to shorten the time required to produce a photograph. Amongst others thus employed at the period named were Talbot, Claudet, Goddard, Draper, Herschel and Hunt. Professor Hunt and myself pursued this object conjointly during the whole of 1839. I directed my attention principally to the mechanical department—the improvement of the camera for photographic purposes; and Mr. Hunt was principally employed in discovering new chemical preparations applicable to Photography, and in rendering those already known more sensitive. Our labours were both, to some extent, crowned with success. In my experiments on the comparative value of lenses, I found that the quickest were those made of flint glass, and that the thinner the glass the more rapid was the process; and that achromatic glasses were much slower than simple lenses, but that the latter gave a confused and indistinct picture. This I discovered to arise from the luminous ray being subject to a less amount of refraction than the chemical ray;* that with a lens or lenses of twelve-inch focus by moving the plate or paper a quarter of an inch nearer the lens, a picture was produced quite equal to that

* See the *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine*, for November, 1839, page 382, and Hunt's *Manual of Photography* (1854), page 169.

obtained by means of an achromatic lens,* and in less than one-twentieth the time.†

I intimated, when I published this discovery, that the use of non-achromatic lenses of large dimensions might lead to the application of Photography to the purpose of portraiture.‡ This expectation was realized, as is shown in the following quotation from the remarks of Professor Hunt§:—"Dr. "Draper, of New York, acting on the suggestions of Mr. "Towson, relative to the adjustment of the focus, succeeded "in accelerating his process so far as to obtain portraits from "the life."

About the same time I made many experiments with cameras having mirrors instead of lenses.‖ These cameras were very quick, and gave a very distinct picture in the centre of the field, which, however, was very limited. Whilst we were thus successful, Goddard and Claudet were still more fortunate in their attempts to accelerate the process by improvements in the chemical department. Goddard discovered that the use of a small amount of bromine, mixed with the iodine, greatly reduced the time necessary to make the required impression; and Claudet, about the same time, discovered that the introduction of small portions of liquid chlorine produced a

* Claudet shows, in the *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine*, 1844, that the luminous and chemical foci were not of the same length, even with achromatic lenses. Achromatic lenses are, however, generally used at present in this country; but in America a combination of simple lenses. The lenses of some very quick cameras, used in this country for taking portraits of children, are similar to the one I described in 1839.

† The chemical ray has since been denominated "actinism."

‡ The *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine*, November, 1839, page 385.

§ *Ibid.*, September, 1840 and 1844. Also, Hunt's *Manual of Photography*, page 96.

‖ Hunt's *Manual of Photography*, page 99, where a drawing of my reflecting camera is also given. In taking a Daguerreotype, or any other positive picture, in the camera, the reflector had the advantage in depicturing the right for the right and the left for the left, whereas in the refracting camera right and left were reversed; but this defect is corrected by printing positive pictures from negatives taken in the refracting camera.

similar effect. The union of these two discoveries so accelerated the process as to render it no longer difficult to take portraits from life with every description of camera. Thus, we find that salts of silver, which, when used by themselves, were but little affected by light, greatly accelerated the most sensitive of homogeneous preparations. Mr. Talbot reduced his salts of silver either to a chloride or a bromide, to prevent the further action of light, and yet either or both of these when mixed in small quantities with preparations previously regarded as being very sensitive, were found to quicken the process to a very considerable extent. With the discoveries of Goddard and Claudet the Daguerreotype process attained its greatest progress, as far as the quickness of the process is concerned. It has, however, connected with it, some objection that further stimulated the Photographer to pursue the science in other directions. The Daguerreotype picture was unsuited for various purposes, to which photography is now applied. The reflection from those parts representing shade, requires that the tablet should be held at a certain angle to the line from which the light proceeds. They are unsuitable for being introduced into books or albums.

About the same time I succeeded in taking photographs on glass, but the process was slow and tedious, because no developing process unconnected with Daguerreotype had yet been discovered.*

Next to Daguerre, Mr. Fox Talbot introduced the develop-

* In the *Manual of Photography*, page 94, Professor Hunt thus describes my process:—"Mr. Towson employed glass plates, prepared in this manner, with "much success. The mode adopted by that gentleman was, to have a box the "exact size of the plate, in the bottom of which was a small hole; the glass was "placed over the bottom, and the mixed solution, just strong enough to be milky, "of salt and silver poured in. As the fluid finds its way slowly around the edges "of the glass, it filters out, separating the fine precipitate which is left behind "on the surface of the plate." I may add that this precipitate, when dry, adheres firmly to the surface of the glass; which, previously to being placed in the camera, was dipped into a bath of a solution of nitrate of silver.

ing process. In 1841 he invented the Calotype, which at that period, next to Daguerreotype, was the most sensitive; but Calotype, as it now exists, has been improved by the discoveries of Mr. Cundell, whose process appeared in the *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine* for May, 1844. About the same time Hunt discovered his Ferrotype, which to a considerable extent has brought down the science of Photography to the present day.

The great value of this discovery was the developing power of the *photosulphate of iron*. This, notwithstanding the improvements that have been discovered during the subsequent twenty years, still remains in use and may be regarded as one of the greatest discoveries in connexion with Photography, as it is now in practice, that was made at that early period.

The prepared paper on which positive photographs are now printed from the negative, may be regarded as amongst the earliest of those practised by the English School of Photography. Fox Talbot in 1834 prepared a paper very similar to those now in use for printing from negatives; and when in 1839 the hyposulphite of soda was employed for the purpose of fixing the picture, little remained for future discovery, except by varying the solution, by which the paper is prepared, so as to quicken the process and improve the tone of colour, and the manufacture of paper expressly for photographic purposes.

Since the period we have referred to in this paper, great progress has, however, been made in producing negatives of far greater value than any of those known at that period. These improvements have principally been founded on the use of collodion, the invention of Mr. Archer and Mr. Fry.*

* It is greatly to be regretted that we cannot determine whether the collodion process had its origin with Fry or Archer. This defect in the history of the discoveries made subsequently to those described in this paper, arose from the fact that neither Archer nor Fry published his invention until after it had been practised by others. It is, however, very probable that both these gentlemen made this discovery independent of each other.

In this paper it has not been attempted to enter into any details, but merely to trace the foundation of Photography, which was laid in the five years commencing with 1839, after which period I have had but little practical acquaintance with the science.

The history of the progress of the science and the art of Photography, affords a striking illustration of the gradual manner in which many interesting discoveries are developed. After the publication of the discoveries of Daguerre, for a short period a feeling of universal astonishment was excited. But this gradually subsided; whilst, at the same time, Photography, as a science, was progressing. In 1850 the writer of the article, "Photogenic Drawings," in the *Penny Cyclopædia* says,* "Now that the first novelty has worn off, "the interest taken by the public in the discovery has greatly "diminished." Six years subsequently, in the supplement to the same work, after describing the progress that had since been attained, the writer remarks,† "Of an art *so new*, it would be "premature to attempt to enumerate the advantages." And so to the present time, new appliances of the art are continually being brought into operation; and we may now say that there scarcely exists a family within the pale of the civilized members of the human race, that is not, to some extent, indebted to the Photographic art. Several sciences have also received its aid, Astronomy and Archæology amongst the number; and from time to time we still hear of some new application of this valuable and interesting art. As a science its resources have been more slowly developed, but may ultimately be found of equal value.

* See volume xviii, page 113.

† See first supplement, article "Photography," volume xii, page 420.

ON THE CUP-CUTTINGS AND RING-CUTTINGS ON THE CALDER STONES NEAR LIVERPOOL.

By Professor J. Y. Simpson, M.D. (Edinburgh),
Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

(READ 12TH JANUARY, 1865.)

LATELY the attention of archæologists has been strongly called to cup and ring sculpturings on stones and rocks in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland. The lapidary surfaces are not smoothed or hewn in any way to receive the sculpturings. The sculpturings themselves consist of incised cuttings of various forms. The principal or generic types, however, hitherto observed are the following:—

1. Hollow rounded excavations or cups—varying from one to three or four inches in diameter; but shallow in proportion to their breadth.

2. Cups of the preceding type encircled by one incised ring.

3. Cups surrounded by a series of concentric and enlarging complete rings.

4. Cups with an enclosing ring or series of rings but the rings rendered incomplete by a straight radial groove or channel traversing them from the centre to the circumference.

5. Similar series of concentric rings without a central cup; and

6. Series of encircling rings made by a spiral line or volute.

These lapidary archaic cuttings have now been found in many different localities; and in some localities in great abundance. On rocks and monoliths on the banks of the Add in Argyllshire, I have counted nearly two hundred ring and cup cuttings, in a district about six or eight miles long and two or three miles in breadth. Above three hundred groups

of the lapidary circles have been discovered within the last few years within the county of Northumberland alone.

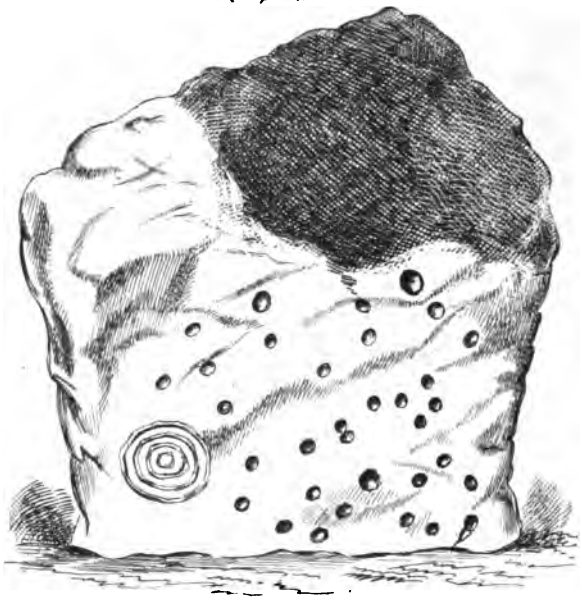
The cup and ring cuttings have been discovered in a variety of relations or positions. I have seen them sculptured on the surfaces of rocks *in situ;* on large stones placed inside and outside the walls of old British cities and camps; on blocks used in the construction of the olden dwellings and strongholds of archaic living man; on the interior of the chambered sepulchres and kistvaens of the archaic dead; on monoliths and on cromlechs; and repeatedly in Scotland on megalithic or so-called "Druidical" circles.

The Calder Stones near Liverpool afford a very interesting and remarkable example of these cup and ring carvings upon this last variety of stones—or, in other words, upon the stones of a small megalithic circle. Some of the Calder Stones afford ample evidence of modern chiselling, as remarked by its sharpness and outray figurings. But in addition to these there are cut upon them—though in some parts greatly faded away—sculpturings of cups and concentric rings exactly similar to those existing in various parts of England and Scotland.* These archaic carvings upon the Calder Stones are remarkable not only from their perfect and entire similarity to the sculptures found elsewhere; but still more so from the fact that we have here presented upon a single circle, almost every known and recognised type of these cuttings; thus affording one strong proof among many others that the cup and ring cuttings are all of one class of art and of one origin, though somewhat diverse in form and type.

The Calder circle is about six yards in diameter. It consists of five stones which are still upright, and one that is fallen.

* I have received, for example, from my friend Dr. Wyse, a sketch of a sculptured stone obtained from an ancient "weem" or underground house in Forfarshire, where some of the lapidary circles are so precisely similar in appearance to those on the inner surface of the largest Calder Stone, that, though the two stones are hundreds of miles apart, they look as if they had been carved by the same hand, and had met, too, with the same form of disintegration.

CALDER STONE No 1.

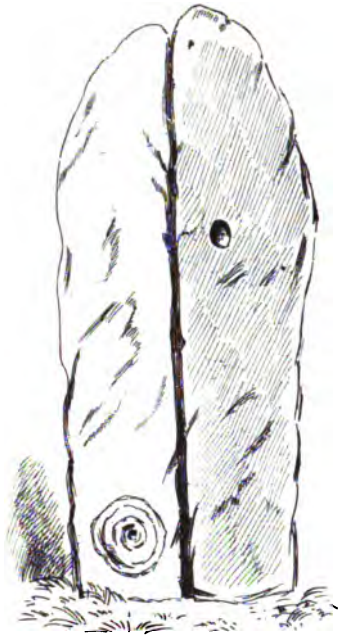


OUTER SURFACE.

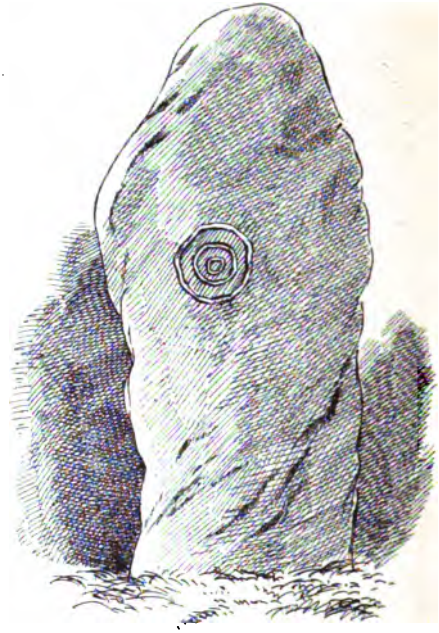
INNER SURFACE.

J.Lawson 26 North John St.

CALDER STONE No 2.



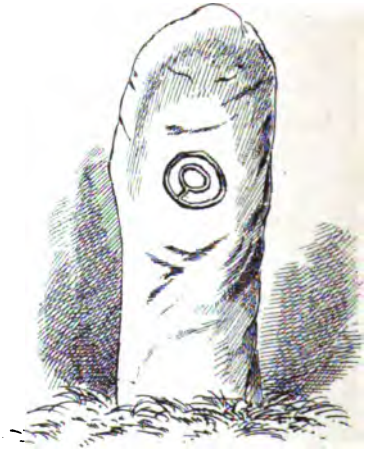
OUTER ASPECT, TWO SIDES.



INNER SIDE.

CALDER STONE No 3.

OUTER ASPECT TWO SIDES.



INNER SIDE.

J. Lawson 36 North John St.

The stones consist of slabs and blocks of red sandstone, all different in size and shape.

The fallen stone is small, and shews nothing on its exposed side; but possibly, if turned over, some markings might be discovered on its other surface.

Of the five standing stones, the largest of the set (No. I) is a sandstone slab, between five and six feet in height and in breadth. On its outer surface—or the surface turned to the exterior of the circle—there is a flaw above from disintegration and splintering of the stone; but the remaining portion of the surface presents between thirty and forty cup depressions, varying from two to three and a half inches in diameter; and at its lowest and left-hand corner is a concentric circle about a foot in diameter, consisting of four enlarging rings, but apparently without any central depression.

The opposite surface of this stone, No. 1, or that directed to the interior of the circle, has near its centre a cup cut upon it, with the remains of one surrounding ring. On the right side of this single-ringed cup are the faded remains of a concentric circle of three rings. To the left of it there is another three-ringed circle, with a central depression, but the upper portions of the rings are broken off. Above it is a double-ringed cup, with this peculiarity, that the external ring is a volute leading from the central cup, and between the outer and inner ring is a fragmentary line of apparently another volute, making a double-ringed spiral which is common on some Irish stones, as on those of the great archaic mausoleum at New Grange, but extremely rare in Great Britain. At the very base of this stone, and towards the left, are two small volutes, one with a central depression or cup, the other seemingly without it. One of these small volutes consists of three turns, the other of two.

The next stone, No. 2 in the series, is about six feet high and somewhat quadrangular. On one of its sides, half-way

up, is a single cup cutting; on a second side, and near its base, a volute consisting of five rings or turns, and seven inches and a half in breadth; and on a third side (that pointing to the interior of the circle), a concentric circle of three rings placed half-way or more up the stone.

The stone No. 3, placed next to it in the circle, is between three and four feet in height; thick and somewhat quadrangular, but with the angles much rounded off. On its outermost side is apparently a triple circle cut around a central cup; but more minute examination and fingering of the lines shews that this figure is produced by a spiral line or volute starting from the central cup, and does not consist of separate rings. The diameter of the outermost circle of the volute is nearly ten inches. Below this figure, and on the rounded edge between it and the next surface of the stone to the left, are the imperfect and faded remains of a larger quadruple circle. On one of the two remaining sides of this stone is a double concentric circle with a radial groove or gutter uniting them. This is the only instance of the radial groove which I observed on the Calder Stones, though such radial direct lines or ducts are extremely common elsewhere in the lapidary concentric circles.

The stone No. 4 is too much weathered and disintegrated on the sides to present any distinct sculpturings. On its flat top are nine or ten cups; one large and deep (being nearly five inches in diameter). Seven or eight of these cups are irregularly tied or connected together by linear channels or cuttings. In this and other respects this stone resembles in its cups and lines the appearances on the capstone of a cromlech at Clynnog-Fawr, North Wales, and one of a series of stones on the Rue-hill in Stirlingshire.

The fifth stone is too much disfigured by modern apocryphal cuttings and chisellings to deserve archæological notice.

The day on which I visited these stones was dark and wet,

On a brighter and more favourable occasion perhaps some additional markings may be discovered.

The whole circle was inclosed some years ago by the late Mr. Walker, within an excellent iron railing; and the generous protection thus afforded will, it is hoped, save for many years from further mutilation, a monument which is, I believe, undoubtedly the oldest specimen that exists in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, of the art and work of archaic man.

Many suggestions, I may observe, have been offered in regard to the intent and import of such lapidary cup and ring cuttings as exist on the Calder Stones; but none of the theories proposed solve, as it seems to me, the hieroglyphic mystery in which these sculpturings are still involved. They are old enigmatical "handwritings on the wall" which no modern reader has yet deciphered. In our present state of knowledge with regard to them, let us be content with merely collecting and recording the facts in regard to their appearances, relations, localities &c.; for all early theorising will in all probability end only in error. It is surely better frankly to own that we know not what these markings mean (and possibly may never know it), rather than wander off into that vague mystification and conjecture which in former days often brought discredit on the whole study of archæology.

But in regard to their probable era let me add one suggestion. These cup and ring cuttings have now been traced along the whole length of the British Isles, from Dorsetshire to Orkney, and across their whole breadth from Yorkshire in England to Kerry in Ireland; and in many of the inland counties in the three kingdoms. They are evidently dictated by some common thought belonging to some common race of men. But how very long is it since a common race—or successive waves even of a common race—inhabited such distant districts as I have just named, and spread over Great Britain and Ireland, from the English Channel to the Pentland Firth,

and from the shores of the German Ocean to those of the Atlantic?

The race that first began to carve them were, there is reason to believe, that race among our forefathers who erected the cromlechs, the chambered barrows, the stone circles, the large monoliths and the other megalithic works, which are still found scattered over the British Islands. If we may judge from the evidence afforded by the barrows opened in our own country, in the Channel Islands and in Brittany, these megalithic builders appear to have been still sparingly, if at all, provided with metallic tools; and the chisellings and carvings upon the stones themselves can be all, I find, easily imitated, even on granite rocks, by flint weapons and a mallet. The ethnological proofs gathered from the examination of the crania found in connexion with megalithic sepulchral structures tend, as far as they go at present, to point to a race different from, and seemingly anterior to, the appearance of the Celtic race in our Islands. If this view, (a view held by some of our first archæologists,) ultimately prove to be correct, then we have in the Calder Stones,—and and within hail, as it were, of the busy mart and great modern city of Liverpool,—a stone structure erected and carved by a Turanian race, who dwelt in this same locality, and lived and died in this same home many long centuries before Roman or Saxon, Dane or Norman, set his invading foot upon the shores of Britain; and possibly anterior even to that far more distant date, when in their migration westward the Cymry and Celt first reached this remote "Isle of the Sea." The extreme rudeness and simplicity of the British cup and ring cuttings afford at least sufficient evidence of their very early and archaic character; while their general diffusion proves that the race or races,—be they Celtic or Pre-Celtic,—that carved them, must at one time have widely overspread both the kingdoms of England and of Scotland.

ON THE ROMAN TOPOGRAPHY OF EAST LANCASHIRE.

By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S. &c.

(Read 16th March, 1865.)

The tenth Iter of Antonine is well known to have passed from north to south through the county of Lancaster. Its principal stations are now much better defined than when the Rev. Thomas Reynolds published his *Commentary* in A.D. 1799; for he remarks, (*page* 315,) that "no Iter in Britain "has exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries so much, or been "made out so little satisfactory." He fixes *Bremetonacis* at Lancaster; *Coccium* at Ribchester; and *Mancunium* = *Mamucium*, at Manchester. In this arrangement he is followed by several other antiquaries who have written since his time.

The Rev. John Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, prefers to place *Coccium* at Blackrod, for which he is censured by the historian of Whalley; and the reader is cautioned against trusting too much to the guidance of Richard of Cirencester. This caution, however, must now be somewhat modified; for in his time "no concurrence of roads, "no discovered remains, led to the supposition that *two* "stations or towns of eminence, in the age of Ptolemy or of "Caracalla, were planted on the banks of the Ribble." (*History of Whalley*, p. 13, *Ed.* 1818.) A *second* station has nevertheless been found on this river, near to Walton-le-Dale; and its discoverer, Mr. Charles Hardwick, has given a full account of it in Vol. VIII, pp. 127-140, of the *Transactions* of this Society, and again in pp. 39-46 of his valuable *History of Preston*. A fall of earth at this place has recently

disclosed a very fine portion of Roman pavement, probably forming a part of the military road from Walton to Lancaster. The pavement lay about thirty inches below the present surface of the soil; it was nearly ten yards wide, and was composed of boulder stones, sand and gravel, very firmly set. Since then a well-preserved coin of Germanicus has been found on the site of the new station; and these, together with numerous fragments of pottery &c. &c., abundantly prove that the Romans certainly had a *second* permanent station on the Ribble not far from the present town of Preston. The tradition, therefore, that Preston rose from the ruins of Ribchester must now be modified, since it is much more likely to have been founded from those at Walton.

Under these circumstances I am disposed to agree with Mr. Hardwick that, "till better evidence be produced," the following may be regarded as the most probable interpretation of the Roman topography of this portion of Britain.

Seteia Œstuarium = Estuary of the Dee.
Belisama Œstuarium = Estuary of the Ribble.
Portus Sistuntiorum = Mouth of the Wyre.
Moricambe Œstuarium = Morecambe Bay.
Bremetonacis = Lancaster.
Coccium = Walton, near Preston.
Mamucium = Manchester.
Rigodunum = Rerigonium = Ribchester.
Colunio = Calanea = Colne. (*Ibid*, pp. 36-7.)

Mr. Hardwick does not attempt to fix the station "*Ad "Alpes Peninos*" of Richard's *Itinerary;* but suggests, as others had done before him, that it was somewhere near Pendle Hill. The tenth Iter of Antonine is then corrected by writing "Coccium = Walton," and this station completes a "double line of forts, to guard the passes over the principal "rivers in Lancashire." The first line is placed "at the "head of the tidal estuaries of the Mersey, the Ribble and "the Lune." It comprises *Condate* = Wilderspool, near

Warfington, on the Mersey; *Coccium* = Walton, on the Ribble; and *Bremetonacis* = Lancaster, on the Lune. The second or inland line is formed by *Mamucium* = Manchester, on the Irwell, a tributary of the Mersey; *Rerigonium* = Ribchester, on the Ribble; and *Ad Alaunum* = Overborough, on the Lune. (*Hist. Preston*, p. 34.)

We may, therefore, now consider these as so many fixed points, and proceed to examine the roads which intersect the county. The Rev. John Whitaker, after tracing a portion of the great road from north to south through Rerigonium, alludes to several "minor ways" to Manchester, York &c., "one of which passes through Whalley, and points to Colne." (*Hist. Manch.*, vol. i, p. 186.) He afterwards traces what he conceives to be the course of Richard's seventh Iter, which runs from west to east, beginning at Freckleton on the Ribble; but after leaving Ribchester he passes by Clitheroe, through Downham, Broughton near Skipton, and thence through Ilkley to York. Returning to the "minor road," he finds it passing by the fortifications of Castercliffe near Colne; and hence concludes that this place is the *Colunio* of the Anonymous Ravennas. He, however, places *Ad Alpes Peninos* at Broughton in Craven, and alters the distance in the Iter accordingly. Mr. Hatcher, in his edition of Bertram's *Richard*, (*London*, 1809,) adopts this arrangement, in which he is supported by the Rev. Thomas Leman in his *Commentary* appended to the same work. Their joint results may be given thus:—

"A Portu Sistuntiorum Eboracum usque, sic." From Freckleton to—

	M. P.	
Rerigonio	XIII	Ribchester.
Ad Alpes Peninos ...	XXIII	Broughton.
Alicana	X	Ilkley.
Isurio	XVIII	Aldborough.
Eboracum	XVII	York.

The Roman road being tolerably perfect all the way to Aldborough and the vestiges of the stations undoubted, these authors consider that they are justified in altering the two first distances from XXIII and VIII to XIII and XXIII, as above. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Whalley*, (pp. 29-32, Ed. 1818,) partially dissents from these views. He traces the general courses of the two great roads, which intersected nearly at right angles on Fulwood Moor, but he doubts whether *Ad Alpes Peninos* ought to be considered a station; and if it be so, whether it ought not to be sought on the "minor way" which traverses "the eastern skirts of Pendle." This able antiquary was not inclined to place much confidence in the *Itinera* of Richard; although he admits the existence of the stations indicated in the Iter under discussion. Doubts respecting the authenticity of Richard's work are also stated by Messrs. Petrie and Hardy in the Introduction to the *Monumenta Historica;* and again by Dr. Robson in pp. 10-12, Vol. III of the *Transactions* of this Society. Thomas Wright, in his *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, lends his authority to the other side, and I think with very sufficient reasons:—"his "roads have been traced where he (Richard) places them; "and their existence was certainly not known in Bertram's "time." (*Celt &c.*, p. 459.) The *via media* has been found by the Rev. Thomas Reynolds, who considers Richard to have been "the first known English commentator on the work of "Antoninus." (*Iter Britanniarum*, p. 126.) It is worthy of remark that not only the *names* of the stations, *but the direction of the roads across the county*, are given with an accuracy in Richard's *Itinerary* which cannot be found in either Ptolemy or Antoninus; and hence his general trustworthiness may be considered as established.

The late Mr. John Just carefully examined the route of the seventh Iter, commencing with Poulton-le-Fylde on the Wyre, and ending with Downham on the north of Pendle Hill; but

he does not attempt to fix any of the stations beyond Rerigonium. (*Transactions Hist. Society*, Vol. III, pp. 3-10.) At the close of this paper he remarks "that much remains to "be done" respecting the topography of the district. The difficulty of placing the stations beyond Ribchester had been felt long before by the historian of Whalley. Admitting Richard's authenticity for the sake of argument only, he remarks that the seventh Iter "calls upon us to look out for "his station *Ad Alpes Peninos* at a distance of *eight* miles "from Rerigonium." (*Hist. Whalley*, p. 29.) He sets out with the names of *Calunio* and *Gallunio* from the Anonymous Ravennas, and supposes, with his namesake the historian of Manchester, that these are really only one and the same station. Finding that the main road from Ribchester, on nearing Pendle, throws off a branch towards Burnley, he examines the route of this "minor road" and finds the remains of a considerable rectangular encampment at Portfield, about two miles from Whalley, and on the crest of a spur from Pendle Hill. This station commands the valleys of the Calder and the Ribble, and was "probably one of the "*castra æstiva* dependent upon Ribchester." (*Whalley*, p. 252.) He would not pronounce this to be *Gallunio*, because he held that there was no such station on this Iter.

Since Dr. Whitaker wrote this Roman road has become much better known. It has been exposed near New Church in Pendle Forest, and may be traced from Ribchester, by Portfield, above Sabden, along Wheatley Lane, and on by Barrowford to Castercliffe near Colne, and thence over the hills towards Ilkley. Another branch from Portfield passed through Burnley, and on by Cliviger towards Heptonstall and Slack, the ancient *Cambodunum*. It is known by the name of the "Long Causeway" in one part of its course, and of the "Devil's Pad" in another; and in some places the original

boulders appear to occupy their first positions. Evidences of Roman occupation have also been found about the present town of Whalley; and hence I propose to consider *Gallunio* as a real station, and to place it on the crest of the hill at Portfield.

Calunio has long since been identified with Colne. Dr. Gale was probably the first to suggest this application; and the fact that the orthography of Colne is *Calna* in a charter of the reign of Henry I, affords a strong additional proof that he was right in his conjecture.

I have described the immense fortifications remaining at Castercliffe in a former communication (Vol. ix, pp. 21-42); and also indicated the direction of the Roman road to Portfield, in the small sketch map which accompanies that paper. We may, therefore, accept as very probable that *Calunio* = Colne, and that the camp at Castercliffe was another of the *castra æstiva* of the Roman troops. The many Roman coins which have been found along this line of road at Emmot, at Wheatley Lane, and near Colne, are proofs sufficient that the "conquerors of the world" frequently traversed this "minor "way," between Rerigonium and Alicana. May we not, therefore, with a high degree of probability, place Richard's *Ad Alpes Peninos* either at Portfield or Castercliffe? And may we not also reasonably attribute his indefiniteness respecting this or *these* stations, and his erroneous distances, to the imperfections of the MSS. which he consulted when constructing his *Diaphrágmata*? Both positions answer his description; for the first crowns one of the offshoots of Pendle Hill, and the second lies on a high mound at the foot of one of the slopes of Boulsworth, which is certainly the highest hill in that part of the Pennine chain which bounds Lancashire on the east. On the whole I prefer to make *Ad Alpes Peninos* = Portfield; and if this postulate be granted, we may then interpret the seventh Iter as follows:—

Portus Sistuntiorum = Mouth of the Wyre.
Rerigonium = Ribchester.
Ad Alpes Peninos = Gallunio = Portfield.
Calunio = Colne.
Alicana = Ilkley.
Isurium = Aldborough.
Eboracum = York.

The several distances between the stations must now be modified so as to include the *two* which we have placed between Ribchester and Ilkley; when this is done we have the complete Iter as it probably existed in the time of the Romans.

A Portu Sistuntiorum Eboracum usque, sic :—

	M. P.	
Rerigonio	XXIII	...Ribchester.
Ad Alpes Peninos / Gallunio	VIII	.. ...Portfield, Whalley.
Calunio	X	.....Castercliffe, Colne.
Alicana	XV	.....Ilkley.
Isurio.....	XVIII	...Aldborough.
Eboraco.....	XVI	.....York.

From the mouth of the Wyre to Ribchester, along the line of the road, the distance is about that given above when the *mille passus* is taken = 5,000 feet. Portfield is *eight* such miles from Ribchester; thence to Casterolliffe is ten miles, and this station is again about *fifteen* Roman miles from Ilkley. These distances are sufficiently accurate for identification. The variations in the numerals are not greater than those which might easily arise from errors of transcription; and the undoubted remains of the stations along the Iter, afford additional evidence of the general trustworthiness of the Anonymous Ravennas and the *Diaphrágmâta* of Richard. It is also worthy of remark that in the map, which Bertram

asserts he copied from the original, the commencement of the seventh Iter is placed a little *lower* than the estuary of the Lune. This will bring us to the mouth of the Wyre, where I have placed the Portus.

Rerigonium is the next station on the road, as it ought to be, but it is placed too far to the west, or too near the port. Coccium is situated on the banks of the Belisama = the Ribble, a little to the south of the junction of the seventh Iter with the tenth, or that from Carlisle through Lancaster towards Manchester and the south; and this is certainly the correct position of the new station at Walton-le-Dale.

The same Iter is represented in the map as crossing the "*Alpes Peninæ Montes*" between Rerigonium and Alicana, but no stations are marked as situated *near* these mountains. This is sufficiently accurate geography; for the omissions are only similar in kind to those in our modern atlases, where the less important towns are frequently omitted. The compiler of the Iter might easily forget the Roman names of Portfield and Colne; and yet remember that they were "*Ad Alpes* "*Peninos*," and that one of them was only eight miles to the east of the principal station on that line of road. From all that has been advanced, I conclude that Portfield has stronger claims than Broughton in Craven to be considered the station intended by Richard. It is situated at the proper distance from Rerigonium—it is near the hills laid down in the map as crossed by the road—and the corrections of the numerals do less violence to the original than any other with which I am acquainted. The corrected Iter, therefore, appears to me to have a high degree of probability in its favour; and in its present state I beg to offer it to this Society, and for the consideration of those who may hereafter interest themselves in the Roman Topography of East Lancashire.

NORMAN SEPULCHRAL CROSS,

found on Hilbre Island, Sep.r 1864.

NOTICE OF AN EARLY CONVENTUAL CEMETERY IN WIRRAL.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

(Read 2nd February, 1865.)

History supplies us with scant information relative to the islands of *Hildburgh-eye*, a name which has been contracted to Hillebyri, and finally to its usual present designation, *Hilbre*. Ormerod, for his valuable *History of Cheshire*, has evidently been able to glean but few particulars of the locality. It appears that, in a Charter granted in 1081 by the Conqueror to the Abbey of St. Ebrulf at Utica in Normandy, allusion is made to *the Church* on Hilbre, as having *previously* been given to this convent (together with that of West Kirby) by Robert de Rodelent, in whose favour William had founded, under the Earls of Chester, the extensive Barony of Rhuddlan, in which a large portion of the Hundred of Wirral was included. The church consequently existed in the Saxon period, when these islands were much more closely connected with the main than in more recent times, being probably only insulated at high water of spring tides and forming an elevated promontory running westwardly into Dee-mouth from a point of the shore opposite West Kirby, one of the oldest villages of Wirral. Again, the wear of sea and weather, to which they are peculiarly exposed, must have greatly reduced their size and consequent ability to support a population. The soil of the main island,

or Hilbre proper, is replete with *débris* of old buildings, the foundations of which appear to have all been "puddled" with the blue marl of the adjacent shore, in common with those of Ancient Meols (lying nearly a mile to the northward of the present village), one instance of the latter being visible so lately as 1862. The Hilbre buildings will range back from the salt works existent a century ago to the conventual buildings of the tenth to twelfth century.

Leland informs us "There was a celle of monkes of "Chestre, and a pilgrimage of our Ladye of Hilbyri."* A light was maintained here for the same purpose as the present landmarks at a very early period, to which, in the twentieth year of Henry III, John Scott, the then Earl of Chester, contributed ten shillings per annum.†

Returning to the religious settled here, the question naturally arises, when and under what circumstances their allegiance came to be transferred from the Abbot of St. Ebrulf to that of St. Werburgh in Chester? whose successors, the Dean and Chapter, retained possession of the islands until about 1858, when they passed by purchase into the great Liverpool Dock Estate, and now bound to the westward our unrivalled port, although still remaining attached to the parish of St. Oswald's, Chester. In the absence of any specific record it may safely be surmised that the change was effected not later than the twelfth century, and probably occurred earlier. The Pilgrimage of "Our Ladye of Hilbyri" may have been sustained for centuries, although the mind now with difficulty pictures this isolated and mostly barren spot—this *Ultima Thule* of our now populous district—as the resort of devotees from all parts of Britain, and even the continent contributing its quota of pious visitors to this sacred island-shrine. In confirmation of the latter supposition and of the

* Leland, *Iter.* v, 54. † Hone's MSS., Chester Cathedral.

prevailing pilgrimage propensities and priestly inflictions of the dark ages, the writer may mention the occurrence upon the neighbouring shore of a "Sign of Our Ladye of Roc St. "Amador," which must have been brought from that once celebrated shrine in the distant and ancient province of Quercy in France.*

The existence of the church and religious establishment, however small, points necessarily to a burial place in the immediate vicinity; and so convinced was the writer, after the discovery of what may be termed a churchyard cross, or cross connected with the holy rood or sacred enclosure adjacent to the cell or oratory, of the ultimate discovery of sepulchral remains that he only awaited a convenient opportunity for commencing some investigation. The cross has been illustrated both in *Ancient Meols* and in the Historic Society's *Transactions*,† and is certainly of Saxon character. It was found by the telegraph keeper, Mr. Thomas Hughes, when breaking into the rubbly surface of the ground for stones wherewith to repair his adjacent roadway from the beach. He was similarly employed, within a few feet of the site of the old cross, when the writer, paying a visit to the island on 21st September last, took the opportunity of examining a little *lower* and *further*, when the side of a stone of considerable size was disclosed, and thought at first to be the foundation-stone or basement of the cross. Further examination, however, proved its sepulchral character, and on clearing the soil from the face of the slab, the ornamentation, though in low relief and rudely executed, was at once apparent. This, as usual, is on the upper end or head of the slab, and consists of a plain cross limbed at the extremities and continued through two concentric circles; a pellet occupies the centre and others the angles of the cross. The whole is bordered by an outer bead

* *Vide* the writer's account in *Ancient Meols*, pp. 283–4, pl. xxvii, fig. 6.

† Vol. iii, N.S., p. 233.

at the edge of the stone, the dimensions of which are—length, five feet four inches; breadth at head, twenty-one inches; shoulders, twenty-two inches; foot, seventeen inches; thickness varying from five to six inches. The weight was found to be so great, that removal at the time was out of the question; and the superincumbent *débris* proving so bad to excavate, it was necessary to be contented with a careful examination of the soil beneath the slab, sinking below it on the side first exposed.

Thus operating, several deposits of human remains were encountered; in one case of a child of eight or nine, and in another of a young person of some fifteen years of age, and their burial may have disturbed the repose of the more important skeleton under the stone, which was found to be very imperfect, not through decay, although by far the earliest inhumed, but from some early displacement, most of the rib-bones and vertebræ being wanting and the skull much crushed and projecting forward from the rest of the skeleton. The only perfect skeleton was a fourth, which proved by far the most recent interment—possibly of some drowned person, buried within the last two or three centuries; it lay in a diagonal direction as regards the slab. This, depicted in the accompanying plate, was placed east and west, and still remains *in situ*. Its ornament or configuration betokens an eleventh or twelfth century date, with which the condition of the sub-incumbent osseous remains agrees; the natural animal gluten having almost wholly disappeared. These bones have belonged to a full-grown man, whose skull was of unusual strength and thickness; and such were admirable qualites when might rather than right held sway throughout the land. The cutting-teeth which remain are worn very obliquely flat, implying a vegetable diet.

Not the slightest trace of any coffin appeared in connection with these interments; and the animal fluid had, as usual

under similar circumstances, blackened the underlying soil in each case. Singularly enough, the soil improved the deeper dug into, and a fine black vegetable mould, of much greater depth than could reasonably have been anticipated in such close proximity as we were to the bare rock overhanging the beach, had evidently been taken advantage of for sepulchral purposes. A few small bits of charcoal proved the only traces of fire noticed. Not a single coin or other piece of metal was seen, despite the most careful manipulation of the out-turned soil; and the only relics of man's handiwork observed were a few pieces of earthenware,—fragments of a red jar and large water crocks of the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, with a piece of flat slate-coloured ware of doubtful use. With the exception of an odd piece found by the writer upon a former visit, this mediæval ware had been previously unnoticed upon the island. The other archæological products of the place are all of a much earlier character, being, with the exception of the Saxon cross and a few primeval flints, of Roman workmanship or imitation, pointing to the period when Hilbre was at times a place of call on passing up the Dee to the important colony of Deva. I believe these last-named objects were all found upon the shore here, which they must have reached from the island top through the abrasion of the cliffs by the sea. They comprise a large sized fibula in bronze, the upper portion of which still retains most of its original blue enamel; two double buckles of different sizes, also in bronze; a spindle whorl or perforated disk of light coloured terra-cotta; and, lastly, a fine bead of blue glass, ornamented by intertwining enamelled threads of yellow and green, which, having been thrown up from a deep burrow by a rabbit, strongly confirmed, in the writer's opinion, the probability of early interments hereabout—such beads having been found, in Kent and elsewhere, in connection with smaller ones, round the necks of skeletons of females. These

large beads, mostly now believed to be of Roman manufacture, were highly and most deservedly valued by both Saxons and Danes, not only for their strength, but more especially for their rich and beautiful colours. As yet no one has delved into the sandy ground in which the burrow is situate (some twenty yards from the tombstone), and the probability is that the ancient cemetery (of which the writer has now confirmed the existence) may extend in several directions from his little opening trench. One strong conviction, however, remains with him after two days' excavation, namely, that a thorough examination of the archæological remains beneath the Hilbre sod will necessitate the employment of a gang of men for weeks, if not a couple of months, and he much doubts whether anybody will undertake the trouble, even if leave could be obtained, to make such an investigation.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that a proposition has been to some extent entertained by the Dock authorities for quarrying stone at Hilbre; but it is to be hoped so suicidal a project will not be realized, as the reduction of these islands would remove the only rocky bulwarks against the strength of the tidal current and high seas—the only natural breakwater off this angle of Cheshire.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1864-65.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Free Public Library, 18th October, 1864.

PETER R. McQUIE Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

The SECRETARY read the following

REPORT.

The labours of the Council in the year which has just closed have not been of a character to require a very detailed or special notice, the business having been carried on with accustomed success and no unusual event having occurred during the Session except the tercentenary celebration of the birth of Shakspeare.

The total number of members on the roll is 409; viz., 54 *life*, 182 *resident*, 148 *non-resident*, 2 *lady-associate* and 23 *honorary* members. Nineteen Papers were read at the nineteen meetings held in the Session: two were attended by a miscellaneous company, including ladies and gentlemen not members of the Society, and one of these, the Shakspeare meeting already referred to, was remarkably successful, both in respect to the great number of persons present at it and the rarity and value of the illustrative books and other objects exhibited. A full report of the meeting will appear in the Annual Volume, now nearly ready for publication; but the Council cannot omit this opportunity of offering its warm acknowledgments to the Exhibitors generally, and in particular to J. F. Marsh Esq., of Warrington, for affording to the members and their friends an opportunity of inspecting his very valuable collection of original editions of Shakspeare and other works of the Shakspeare period.

One most important duty which devolves upon the present Annual Meeting is the appointment of an Honorary Secretary in the room of the Rev. Dr. Hume, who, having been one of the chief originators of the Society in 1848, has held the office of its Honorary Secretary throughout the whole term of its existence. Previously to the last Annual Meeting, Dr. Hume tendered his resignation, but was on that

occasion prevailed upon to resume his office for another year. The Council have felt that on his retirement from duties which have been performed with so much ability and zeal, and with a success to which the prosperity of the Society bears such ample witness, it was due both to the Society and to Dr. Hume that some official recognition of those services should be made. They therefore recommend the presentation to Dr. Hume of a Diploma of Life Membership; and believing that it will be a general wish that the honours of a Society like ours should be awarded to those who have benefitted it by their labours, the Council have nominated Dr. Hume for election on the present occasion as one of the Vice-Presidents. Their anxiety as to the appointment of a suitable successor has been ended, in a manner upon which they congratulate the Society, by the consent of Nicholas Waterhouse Esq. to accept the office of its Honorary Secretary.

The interchange of serial and other publications between this Society and those in union with it has continued as heretofore; recent additions to the Library, chiefly from this source, have been bound and placed in the lately purchased bookcase, which is now quite full, and the succeeding Council will find it necessary to provide accommodation for those further accessions which are steadily being made. The Museum occupies a set of cases in the Gallery of Inventions and Science; it is being re-arranged under the supervision of the Curator, with the object of increasing the interest and usefulness of the collection.

In accordance with the Laws, the names of gentlemen recommended for election to the Council are submitted herewith.

COMPARATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE SOCIETY.

	Life.	Resident.	Non-Resident.	Lady Assoc'tes.	Total.	Honorary Members.	Gross Total.
Session XVI	57	183	156	2	398	25	423
„ XVII — Died or Resigned	3	13	16	..	32	2	34
	54	170	140	2	366	23	389
New Members	0	12	8	..	20	..	20
	54	182	148	2	386	23	409

It was moved by J. R. HUGHES Esq., seconded by J. H. GIBSON Esq., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the Report now read be adopted, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

It was moved by E. F. EVANS Esq., seconded by THOMAS SANSOM Esq., F.B.S.E., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the thanks of the Society be given to the Officers and Sectional Members of the Council for their services during the past Session.

It was moved by the Chairman, seconded by DAVID BUXTON Esq., F.R.S.L., and resolved unanimously:—

> That this Society desires to convey to the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c., &c., its cordial and special thanks for his zealous and efficient services, both as one of its founders and, from the period of its organization to the present time, as its Honorary Secretary; and, as the highest official Testimonial of its appreciation of those services which the Society can bestow, elects Dr. Hume a Life Member on and from this date.

It was moved by WILLIAM BURKE Esq., seconded by the Rev. DR. HUME, and resolved unanimously:—

> That the thanks of this Society be given to J. F. MARSH Esq., of Warrington, for exhibiting to the members and their friends, at the Shakspeare Tercentenary celebration, on the 20th of April last, his valuable collection of early editions of Shakspeare and other rare works of the period.

It was moved by J. T. TOWSON Esq., F.R.G.S., seconded by THOMAS DAWSON Esq., M.R.C.S., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the thanks of the Society be given to F. J. JEFFERY Esq., F.G.H.S., for his donation of seven valuable illustrations for the Annual Volume for the past year.

A ballot having been taken for the Officers and Sectional Members of the Council, the result was announced from the chair. (See page iv.)

Thanks were voted by acclamation to the Chairman for his services during the evening, and the proceedings terminated.

At the Annual General Meeting held on the 18th of October, 1865, the Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., V.P., in the Chair, the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts for Session XVI was read as follows :—

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in account with*

Dr. WILLIAM BURKE, *Treasurer.* *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
I. THE VOLUMES :—						
Balance delivery of vol iii, N.S.	0	5	0			
Printing and binding vol. iv, N.S.	103	6	9			
Illustrations to ditto	13	11	6			
Delivery of ditto	6	0	0			
				123	3	3
II. SESSIONAL EXPENSES :—						
Printing Circulars &c.	6	11	6			
Stationery	2	5	8			
Insurance	1	10	0			
Postage Stamps	8	19	6			
Refreshments at Meetings	8	17	0			
Advertisements, delivery of Circulars, Messages, Parcels & Miscellaneous	10	4	6			
Commission to Collector	6	1	10			
Assistant Secretary	50	0	0			
				94	10	0
III. PERMANENT INVESTMENTS :—						
Directory, letter weigher, clip files	0	18	0			
Binding Books	0	5	6			
New Council Minute Book	0	15	6			
				1	19	0
IV. SPECIAL EXPENSES :—						
Repairs to large book case	3	16	6			
Removing and enlarging shelves, &c.	1	15	0			
Shakspeare Tercentenary Celebration	12	2	6			
Excursion	1	11	2			
				19	5	2
Balance carried down				23	13	8
				£262	11	1

By Balance from last Account, Session XV.			19	0 5
„ Receipts in Session XVI, viz. :—				
Arrears			27	16 6
Entrance Fees			10	10 0
Annual Subscriptions, Session XVI			204	4 6
Books and book covers sold			0	19 8
			£262	11 1

Examined and found correct,

PETER R. M'QUIE, AUDITOR.

Liverpool, 1st July, 1865.

By Balance brought down £23 13 8

(E. and O. E.)

WILLIAM BURKE, *Treasurer.*

It was moved by PETER R. M'QUIE Esq., seconded by ROBERT JONES Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

That the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts for 1863-64, now presented, be passed and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

3rd November, 1864. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Rev. A. HUME, LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Kent Archæological Society.

Archæologia Cantiana, vol v.

From the respective Authors.

1. Memoir of the late A. H. Rhind, of Sibster, by John Stewart.
2. Reminiscences connected with the old panelling now at Gungrog, by Morris Charles Jones.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Chairman.

1. Two specimens of circular perforated stones common in Ireland, but the use of which is unknown. One was partially bored on each side, and the other was pierced through, in both cases with a conical borer. They are regarded as sling-stones or plummets; and frequently as the pivots on which the two iron axes of the quern-stones revolved in the process of domestic grinding.
2. The head of a gigantic spur, the rowel of which had eight points, each more than an inch long. It is supposed by some, however, that the instrument had been attached to a wooden handle, and had formed part of an offensive weapon.

By Mr. Jacob.

1. A China snuff box, mounted in gold; from the Stowe collection.
2. An immense spoon, about thirty inches in length, having a wreath-pattern handle; the whole formed of a single piece of elephant's tusk, from the collection of Lord Dungannon.
3. An Indian war-knife.
4. An Indian engraved pebble bracelet, obtained at Lucknow.

By Mr. Douglas, through Mr. Jacob.

A crucifix taken from a Roman church during a riot about ninety years ago; the figure is of oxidized silver, probably by Cellini, and is very fine.

By Dr. Nottingham.

1. An illustrated Japanese book, recently presented to the Rev. Dr. Hume.
2. A pamphlet printed on paper consisting of equal parts of wood and rags.
3. A piece of the pulp obtained from wood and ready for mixture with the rag material, as employed in the process of W. S. Losh Esq., near Carlisle.

By Mr. Stephenson.

Two Japanese coins, both quadrangular, one being of silver gilt and the other of silver.

By Mr. Thomas Dawson.

1. A piece of the wire of magnesium, which was burned to shew the brilliancy of its light.
2. A great number of volumes of Liverpool pamphlets.

The following Paper was read :—

THE PAMPHLET LITERATURE OF LIVERPOOL—Conclusion,* *by Thomas Dawson Esq., M.R.C.S.L.*

10*th November*, 1864. LITERARY SECTION.

HENRY ARTHUR BRIGHT Esq., M.A., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal, vol i, part i, N.S.

From the Statistical Society.
Journal, vol. xxxii, parts ii and iii.

From the Geological Society.
1. Quarterly Journal, Nos. 78 and 80.
2. List of Members, Nov. 1st, 1864.

From the Liverpool Athenæum.
Catalogue of the Athenæum Library.

From the Chairman.
Catalogue of the Renshaw Street Chapel Library.

From Mr. Genn.
A fossil found in Lancashire coal.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By the Chairman.

1. A Russian MS found in the Redan on the taking of Sebastopol.
2. An unsigned document, dated 33 Car. ii (1682), releasing one Ellesdon, of Charmouth, from the payment of certain Customs duties received by him, amounting to about four thousand pounds, "in regard that he was instrumentall to our escape after "the fatal battell of Worcester." It has attached to it the royal seal, and bears the following endorsement :—

"Found in the room where the king was concealed in "Charmouth Manor-house, and presented to me by James "Warden Esq., lord of the manor, 1786.

(s) "John Cranch."

3. The original MS of Godwin's novel, "Fleetwood."

* Transactions, p. 73, and vol. iv, N.S., pp. 240 and 244.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE ENGLAND OF SHAKSPEARE,* *by Nicholas Waterhouse Esq., Honorary Secretary.*

17th November, 1864. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Rev. HENRY H. HIGGINS, M.A., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, vol. xiii, Nos. 64 to 67.

From the Royal Irish Academy.
1. Transactions, vol. xxiv, Antiquities, part i, Polite Literature, part i, Science, part iii.
2. Proceedings, vol. viii, parts 1 to 6.

From Mr. H. S. Fisher.
The Naturalist's Scrap-Book, Nos. 15 to 17.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Chairman.

A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the three Kingdoms of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland;* together with an ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, 1646.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. Parliamentary Report and Tables relating to the Religious Professions, Education and Occupations of the People of Ireland, based on the Irish Census of 1861.
2. (On behalf of Gordon M. Hills Esq., of London.) A drawing of a bone instrument made of two thicknesses riveted together. It belongs to Lord Dunraven, and was dug by him out of the moat of Desmond Castle, at Adare, county of Limerick. The object is presumed to have been used in the process of primitive weaving.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN IRELAND, *by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., Vice-President.*

1st December, 1864. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

WILLIAM BURKE Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—
Henry Greenwood, 32, Castle street.

* Transactions, p. 23.

W. W. Rundell, 21, Exchange buildings.
Rev. S. G. F. Perry, Tottington, near Bury.
Thomas Haigh, Boundary lane.
John Robinson, 41, Lord street.
William Pitt Hornby, Breck road, Everton.
John D. Bath, Garston.
D. Johnson, Brougham terrace.
John Porter, Clayton square.
John Mathews, Jun., Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
James Marson, Warrington.
B. L. Benas, 5, South Castle street.
G. T. Millichap, 30, Bold street.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society of Antiquaries.
Proceedings, New Series, vol. i, No. 8, and vol. ii, Nos. 1 to 5.

From the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.
Original Papers, vol vi, part 4.

From the Sussex Archæological Society.
Archæological Collections, vol. xvi.

From Charles H. Rickards Esq., Manchester, through John A. Tinne Esq., Vice-President.
Memorials of Oldham's Tenement, being photographic views of the birth-place of Hugh Oldham, some time Bishop of Exeter.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Fabert.
1. An antique battle-axe, mace and dagger, the last inlaid with gold.
2. A large hooked knife, two-edged, in a coarse sheath formed of two flat pieces of wood fastened together with strings of tough bark.

By Mr. John Davies, Jun.
A small silver coin of Edward II.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE ANCIENT BOROUGH OF OVER AND NOTABLE PLACES IN ITS VICINITY,* *by Thomas Rigby Esq.*

8th December, 1864. LITERARY SECTION.

JOHN A. TINNE Esq., F.R.G.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Heald, Greenfield, Billinge, Wigan, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

* Transactions, p. 13.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Dublin Society.
Journal, No 31.

From the editor.
The Reliquary, Nos. 16 and 17, edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A.

From Mr. Wilkinson, Burnley.
The Lady's and Gentleman's Diary, or Poetical and Mathematical Almanack for 1865.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. Thomas Gibson.
A case containing about four hundred specimens of the seeds of British wild plants, collected by him during the past summer. The seeds were arranged in phials, each order bearing a distinctly coloured cork and each phial being labelled with the name of the plant to which the seed belonged.

By Mr. Helsby.
Several finely executed medallion portraits, the result of a new process discovered by the exhibitor.

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.
1. A fine pair of red-deer horns with eight tines, recently found in the submarine forest on the shore near the mouth of the Alt.
2. Four horns of the roebuck obtained from the Cambridgeshire fens.
3. An extensive collection of the Algæ of the district around Liverpool.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Flora of Preston and its Neighbourhood,* *by Charles Joseph Ashfield Esq.*

15*th December*, 1864. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Geographical Society.
1. Proceedings, vol. viii, Nos. 4 to 6.
2. Journal, vol. xxxiii.

From Mr. Tinne, Vice-President.
The Nile Basin, part i, shewing Tanganyika to be Ptolemy's Western Lake Reservoir, by Richard F. Burton, F.R.G.S.; part ii, Captain Speke's Discovery of the source of the Nile: a Review, by James McQueen, F.R.G.S.

* Transactions, p. 181.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Sansom.
Staves of American oak taken from a flour barrel re-imported from Brazil, shewing the ravages of insects—the soft portions being eaten away from end to end.

By Mr. Fabert.
Three earthen lamps from Mazatlan.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
A specimen of opal from South Africa.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE DRUIDICAL ROCK BASINS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BURNLEY,* *by T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

12*th January*, 1865. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

J. T. TOWSON, Esq., F.R.G.S., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Proceedings, vol. v., part i.

From the Architectural, Archæological and Historic Society of Chester.
Journal, part vii.

From the Royal Institution of Cornwall.
Journal, No. ii, October, 1864.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Lieut. Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust.
A Copy of Carter's "Medals of the British Army."

By Mr. J. Harris Gibson.
1. Various illuminated works on Medals &c.
2. One hundred and ten British Silver Military War Medals.
3. A few similar medals in bronze.

By Mr. Stonehouse.
Two oil paintings, one of Walton Church, and the other of the present Walton College.

By Mr. Wilkinson.
1. Two sketches of the Hanging Stones and the Gorple Stones, near Burnley.
2. Views of Old Timber Halls in Lancashire, painted, etched and published by N. G. Phillips, Liverpool, 1822.
3. Seven Photographic views of ancient country gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood of Burnley.

By Professor Simpson, Edinburgh.
1. Twelve sketches of archaic engraved stones found in various parts of England, Scotland and Ireland.

* Transactions, p. 1.

2. Four original drawings of the similar sculptured blocks near Liverpool, known as "The Calder Stones."

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

Two sketches of the carvings found on archaic stones in Northumberland, being part of a series now in course of preparation under the auspices of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

The following Papers were read:—

On British Silver Military War-Medals,* *by Mr. J. Harris Gibson*; and

On the Calder Stones,† *by Professor Simpson.*

19*th January*, 1865. LITERARY SECTION.

David Buxton Esq., F.R.S.L., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, vol. xiii, Nos. 68 and 69.

From the Statistical Society.
Journal, vol. xxvii, part 4.

From the Geological Society of Dublin.
Journal, vol. x, part 2.

From Mr. Wilkinson.
Extracts, Original Letters, Scraps &c., No. 3, by the late J. H. Swale, a MS volume dated 1st June, 1823.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Greenwood of Shakspeare,* *by Nicholas Waterhouse Esq., Honorary Secretary.*

2*nd February*, 1865. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society.
Transactions, vol. i, part 3.

From the Author.
Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vi, part 2, by C. Roach Smith.

From Mr. C. Roach Smith.
Curiosités Numismatiques, septième article.

* Transactions, p. 161. † *Ibid*, p. 245. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 47.

From the Author.
The Life of Fin-Barre, first Bishop and founder of the See of Cork, by Richard Caulfield, B.A.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. Thomas Gibson.
A complete series of beautifully executed miniatures of the sovereigns of the Mogul dynasty, executed by native artists.

By Mr. H. E. Smith.
A rose-noble of Henry V, and numerous specimens of objects in lead, supposed to be modern imitations of the antique.

By Mr. Burke.
1. Sulphur impressions of various royal, ecclesiastical and other public seals of the ancient royal city of Dunfermline.
2. Views of still or recently existing remains of Old Dunfermline.

The following Papers were read :—

1. On the Birth-Place of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, *by Ebenezer Henderson, LL.D.*

2. Notice of an early Conventual Cemetery in Wirral, *by Henry Ecroyd Smith.**

9th February, 1865. LITERARY SECTION.

Thomas Sansom, Esq., F.B.S.E., in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas A. Porter, 9, Church street, Everton, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Architectural and Archæological Society of Liverpool.
Transactions, 1862-63.

From the *Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais.*
Bulletins, No. 43 and 44.

From the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society.
Proceedings, No. 44, vol. iv, N.S.

From the Committee of the Gallery of Inventions and Science.
Fourth Annual Report.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. Waterhouse, Honorary Secretary.
A series of photographic copies of autographs.

By Mr. Towson.
Specimens of Zinco-photography and other objects produced by photographic processes.

The following Paper was read :—

The History of Photography to 1844,† *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

* Transactions, p. 271. † Transactions, p. 249.

16*th February*, 1865. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

NICHOLAS WATERHOUSE Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, No. 70.

From the Royal Geographical Society.
Proceedings, vol. ix, No. 1.

From the Royal Society of Edinburgh.
1. Transactions, vol. xxii, part 2.
2. Proceedings, vol. iii.
3. Appendix to the Makerstown Magnetical and Meteorological Observations, being a Supplement to volume xxii of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

From Mr. Gardner.
Section of the trunk of a Lignum-vitæ tree, apparently hollowed in the centre by decay and having, in the hollow, about six inches in diameter, and extending through the block, which measures nearly eighteen inches in length, a quantity of wax so moulded as to indicate that a swarm of bees had hived in it.

The following Paper was read:—

ON SOME RESULTS OF THE CENSUS OF THE DEAF AND DUMB FOR 1861,* *by David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Honorary Curator.*

2nd March, 1865. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

WILLIAM BURKE Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society of Antiquaries of London.
Proceedings, vol. i, No. 8, and vol. ii, Nos. 1 to 5.

From the Editor.
The Reliquary, vol. v, No. 19, edited by Ll. Jewitt.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. H. E. Smith.
1. Through the kindness of the owner, R. B. Sheridan Esq., M.P., of Frampton Court, Dorset, a rare volume by Lysons illustrating the fine Roman villa still preserved upon his estate. Among the numerous designs combined in the tesselated pavements appears one of the earliest forms of the Greek monogram of Christ, almost the only known example of a purely Christian symbol upon Romano-British architecture, and pointing to the fourth century as the date when the floor was executed.

* Transactions, p. 231.

2. Two Roman knives, uncovered from the ancient forest-bog of the Cheshire sea-shore by the recent spring tides. They answer respectively to the *culter secespita and culter excoriatorius* (slaughtering and skinning knives;) and a specimen of the latter, of precisely analogous form, found in a Pompeian house, as shewn in a work of the Rev. Edward Trollope, F.S.A.

3. A large-paper copy of the *Illustrations of Ancient Roman Remains of North Hants*, by the late E. T. Artis Esq., F.S.A.

By Mr. Waterhouse.

A kajik or canoe and two other small articles carved from the horn of the walrus by one of the Esquimaux converts attached to the Moravian Mission in Labrador.

By Mr. A. Craig Gibson.

Numerous views of points of interest in and about the town of Hawkshead.

The following Paper was read:—

THE LAKE-LAND OF LANCASHIRE; PART I, HAWKSHEAD TOWN, CHURCH AND SCHOOL,* *by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Librarian.*

9th March, 1865. LITERARY SECTION.

Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L. &c., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Astronomical Society.

Memoirs, vol. xxii.

From the Royal Dublin Society.

Journal, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii.

From the Author.

Essayists and Essay-Writing: an Address delivered at the opening of the Eleventh Session of the Undergraduate Philosophical Society of the University of Dublin.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Waterhouse.

The Historie of Plantes intreating of Medicinal Rootes and Herbes that purge the Body, also of noysome weedes, and dangerous plantes, their sundrie fashions, names and natures, their vertuous operations and dangers. Compiled by the learned D. Rembert Dodens (*Rembertus Dodonæus*) nowe Phisition to the Emperour; an English black-letter translation, *n.d.*

* Transactions, p. 139.

By Mr. E. F. Evans.

Specimen of a petrifaction formed on the extremity of the branch of a tree, on which several others of like character were observed, growing on Salt Cay Island, New Providence. Its material appears to be pure lime.

By Mr. Thomas Gibson.

Several specimens of *Scolopendrium vulgare*.

By Mr. Towson.

Numerous specimens of the same plant, including two rare living varieties, one from Frodsham, the other from Killarney.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE VARIETIES OF THE SCOLOPENDRIUM VULGARE FOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SPECIMENS, *by John Thomas Towson, F.R.G.S.*

Ferns take their place in the Linnæan system of plants as belonging to the twenty-fourth class—*Cryptogamia*. This includes all the genera in which seed is not produced by the fructifying process which takes place in flowers as in the higher order of plants. Ferns generally are propagated by that which, when it leaves the parent plant, is denominated a spore. Before seeds are matured the fertilizing process is perfected. But not so with spores. They are separated from the parent plant when a *prothalus* is developed. In this the fertilizing process, similar to that which occurs in flowers before the seed is produced, takes place. Still this great distinction, which Linnæus considered of sufficient importance, to distinguish the *Cryptogamia* from other classes of vegetables, ceases to exist in certain species of Ferns. Some foreign species are denominated viviparous or proliferous. With them the infant plant is perfected on the frond of the parent fern.

We have no case of an indigenous fern, the normal condition of which is viviparous. But we have numerous exotics of this character. We might imagine all viviparous belonged to a different genus not to be found in this country, if the contrary were not proved by finding varieties of well known ferns, here indigenous, which are viviparous, although the species, from which they have been derived, propagate by spores, as with the generality of ferns. This is the case with some varieties of the *Scolopendrium vulgare*. I have a specimen of *Scolopendrium vulgare* gathered in Derbyshire last year, known as *vivo-marginatum*.

The species of ferns are distinguished by the arrangement of the sori and indusia. The former being a collection of spore-cases, and the latter the membrane that covers over the sori. The *Scolopendrium* normarly differs from *asplenium* in the former having a double line of sori and indusia, but in the latter a single line. Yet in the case of *Scolopendrium*, variety *gymnosorum*, we have no indusium and the double line of sori more or less separated.

We have referred to the before-named varieties of the *Scolopendrium* as being the most divergent from the normal plant, but we have upwards of sixty other varieties described by Moore, diverging more or less from the normal type. These may be classified—with reference to the abnormal arrangements connected with the propagation of the species,

as already described—the form of the fronds and the size of the plant generally.

In form no fern varies so greatly as the *Scolopendrium*.

The *Sagittifolium* has fronds the form of the head of an arrow.

The *Polyschides*, the edge of the frond is often so broken as scarcely to be recognised as a *Scolopendrium*.

The *Marginatum* has the edge of the frond split so as to exhibit a free membrane under the surface of the frond.

The *Muricatum* with a furrowed surface.

The *Crispum* with fronds curled and undulated in various forms.

Multifidum having a crest crisped at the apex of the frond, including numerous varieties.

Ramosum, the stipes branched bearing several fronds.

Laceratum, containing numerous sub-varieties.

And the *Cornutum*, in which the midrib is excurrent below and, in the case of a variety I gathered at Frodsham, on the excurrent midrib a smaller frond.

Another distinction of varieties is in the size of the fronds. The normal size of the fronds is from six to eighteen inches in length; the dwarf form varies from three to six inches, and the pigmy from one to three inches. I believe that the pigmy varieties are much more numerous than are generally recognized, many of them, when met with, having been mistaken for young plants.

It has been stated that many of these varieties are the result of cultivation. I do not believe that any variety has originated with the gardener. He, however, has observed that when in the natural condition a fern deviates from the normal type, the offspring will most probably diverge into other varieties. When a new variety is met with, it is carefully provided for and seedlings are reared, and thus many varieties are preserved, which if left to nature would have been lost.

For instance, Mr. A. Clapham a few years since gathered a fern of the *submarginato-multifidum* variety; from this he reared at least ten varieties, and no doubt many other varieties have been derived from this one stock. It becomes a matter for enquiry, when so many varieties are known to proceed from one common stock, whether ferns met with in other climates, generally regarded as distinct species, are not varieties of some well known fern generally bearing a different name. Whether the distinctions now employed in separating genera and species may not ultimately be found only to distinguish a variety from a variety, a result owing to accidents of soil and climate; and when once a variety is called into existence, in most instances it is persistent, there being no tendency to return to the parent type.

16th March, 1865. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L. &c., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Geological Society.
Quarterly Journal, No. 81.

From the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire.
Report of Proceedings, 1863-64.

From the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.
Annual Report for 1863-64.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Mathison.
1. A Roman jug of graceful pattern.
2. Three earthenware lamps.
3. A carved pebble amulet.

By Mr. Buxton.
1. An illustrated vocabulary published in 1777.
2. A work of the same character, designed for the use of the Deaf and Dumb, published in 1857, shewing a great advance made in eighty years in the art of pictorial illustration as applied to educational works.
3. Some specimens of the Calabar ordeal bean.

By Mr. H. E. Smith.
1. Engravings of Roman Altars turned up in the West Riding of Yorkshire.
2. *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, or the Remains of Isurium (now Aldborough). By the Exhibitor.
3. Sections of the strata, at two several points of the Cheshire beach, to illustrate the exact positions of the different classes of archæological remains found amongst them of late years.

By Mr. Genn.
A collection of twenty line engravings of separate islands forming part of the city of Venice, the work of Antonio Visentini, dedicated "to the noble and magnanimous Signore Tommaso "Moore Slade, cavaliere Inglese."

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.
An extraordinary forgery of a rare Roman first brass of Gordianus Africanus.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE ROMAN TOPOGRAPHY OF EAST LANCASHIRE,* *by T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

A Meeting of the above character was held, by appointment of the Council, on the invitation of Joseph Mayer Esq., F.S.A. &c., at his Museum of British and Foreign Antiquities, Colquitt Street, on Thursday, the 6th of April, 1865, when a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, consisting of members and their friends, assembled. After partak-

* Transactions, p. 263.

ing of refreshment and inspecting the collection, they proceeded to the principal room, where the Rev. Hermann Baar, Ph.D., read an Address entitled "A Lady's Library," Mr. Mayer presiding. The reading of the Paper being completed, the Rev. Dr. Hume, Vice-President of the Society, proposed and David Buxton Esq., F.R.S.L., seconded a vote of thanks to the Rev. Dr. Baar, for his interesting and valuable communication, which was carried unanimously and duly acknowledged. It was then moved by A. Craig Gibson Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Librarian, seconded by William Mathison Esq., and resolved by acclamation—

That the best thanks of the meeting be offered to Joseph Mayer Esq., for his kind invitation and welcome on this occasion.

Mr. Mayer having responded, the proceedings closed.

4th May, 1865. LITERARY SECTION.

DAVID BUXTON Esq., F.R.S.L., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

Joseph Harding, Marlborough House, Claughton, Birkenhead.
Louis W. Heintz, Lancaster Buildings, Tithebarn street.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Author.
Lives of the Warriors of 1600-1640, vol. i, by Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., &c.

From the Society of Arts.
Journal, No. 599 to No. 650.

From the Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais.
Bulletin, No. 46.

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, Nos. 71 to 73.

From the Royal Geographical Society.
Proceedings, vol. ix, No. 2.

From the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.
On the Early History of Leeds, and some questions of pre-historic Archæology agitated at the present time, by Thomas Wright Esq., M.A., &c.

From the Author.
On the Emblems of Geffrey Whitney, of Nantwich, in the 16th Century, by the Rev. Henry Green, M.A.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. T. J. Moore.
Two specimens of Dutch pottery, bearing the impression of a bearded face, giving to such articles the name of *Greybeards*. They are also called *Bellarmines*.

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.

1. Saxon pennies, viz., one Burgred, A.D. 874; one Eadmund, 940; one Eadred, 946; one Ethered II, 946; two Edward Confessor, 1042; two Harold II, 1066.
2. A rare and valuable pattern of a coin of Philip and Mary, dated 1555.
3. Two Anne farthings, viz., 1713 (pattern), and 1714 (current).
4. Four patterns for the penny of the late (Victoria) issue, 1860.

By Mr. Towson.

Some bronze celts found in Ireland, one of them being of very early type.

By Mr. F. J. Jeffery.

1. Specimens of a United States postage-label, intended to prevent fraudulent removal from letters; on being taken off the impression of the value of the stamp remains on the letter.
2. A collection of English coins.

By Mr. H. E. Smith.

A gold Bezant.

The following paper was read:—

ON THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM 1066 TO THE PRESENT TIME, Part I,* *by F. J. Jeffery, F.G.H.S.*

11*th May*, 1865. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., &c., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Geological Society.
Journal, No. 82.

From the Royal Institution of Cornwall.
Journal, No. 3.

From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Archæologia Æliana, No. 20.

From the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.
Original Papers, viz., Visitation of Norfolk, second portion.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Chairman.

A portion of the piles used for supporting the lacustrine habitations in Switzerland, brought from Rolle, on the north of the Lake of Geneva.

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.

His monagraph of the algæ of this district, illustrated by actual specimens and coloured drawings.

* Transactions, p. 187.

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.

1. Two old engraved views, by Vivares, of Scenery in Craven, Yorkshire.
2. A collection of almanacks, ephemerides &c., by Lilly and others, dated 1683-84.
3. A two-guinea piece of Car. II, with the impress of an elephant under the bust, shewing the gold to have been obtained from Guinea, and imported by the African Company.
4. A curious hammered gold coin of James II, struck after his abdication.

By Mr. Forrest.

Some photographic reproductions of old engravings, &c.

By H. E. Smith.

A numerous collection of anatomical and other antiquarian remains found in the caves of Craven, most of them kindly lent for the occasion by Mr. Joseph Jackson, of Settle, who discovered the finest cave in that neighbourhood on the day of Her Majesty's accession, and loyally named it "Victoria." These objects included two rare and valuable examples of the ancient British brooch, &c.

The following Paper was read:—

THE LIMESTONE CAVES OF CRAVEN AND THEIR ANCIENT INHABITANTS,* *by Henry Ecroyd Smith Esq., Honorary Curator.*

10*th July*, 1865. MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

JOHN F. MARSH Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society.
Proceedings and Papers, vol. v, N.S., No. 46.

From Mr. H. S. Fisher.
Report of the Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club for 1684-65.

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, vol. xiv, No. 75.

From the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.
Proceedings, 53rd Session, 1863-64, No. xviii.

On the completion of the routine business the members proceeded to the large Lecture-hall, where a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled, when the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., Vice-President of the Society, read a Paper entitled "Changes in the "Sea-Coast of Lancashire and Cheshire," illustrated by numerous diagrams and Maps.

* Transactions, p. 199.

After a brief conversation on the subject of the Paper, letters were read from Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust and Joseph Mayer Esq., expressing their regret at not being able to be present at the meeting.

PRESENTATION TO THE REV. DR. HUME.

David Buxton Esq., F.R.S.L., the Chairman of a Committee appointed to conduct the arrangements for presenting a Testimonial to the Rev. Dr. Hume, then said,—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The duty which I have to perform is one which will require very few words from me. We are assembled to-night to perform a graceful act : not to prolong the meeting by mere talking. The Testimonial which is now before you is intended to mark, by a substantial and lasting gift, the estimation in which Dr. Hume is held by members of the Historic Society—remembering that he was one of the Society's founders, and that from the day of its establishment in 1848 up to 1864. he filled the office of Honorary Secretary with an energy and devotion of which the present and past success of the Society are the evidence and the fruit. It has devolved upon me unexpectedly to have to represent the Subscribers and the Committee : but I am sure that while I consult my own feelings I shall most fitly embody theirs and do that which is most proper to the occasion if I decline altogether the language of panegyric, and in the simplest terms express our sense of the very valuable services of Dr. Hume, and our personal regard for him. I cannot do this better than by reading the Address, which, with the plate before you, forms the Testimonial we are met this evening to present :—

"This Address, with a Service of Plate, is presented to the "Rev. Abraham Hume, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., &c. &c., from the "President and many Members of the Historic Society of Lancashire "and Cheshire, on his retirement from the office of Honorary Secretary. "Having been one of the founders of the Society (in 1848), he pro-"moted its usefulness and prosperity for sixteen years as its Honorary "Secretary, with a zeal, ability and success of which this offering is "designed to be a lasting Record and Testimonial.

(Signed) "DAVID BUXTON,

"Chairman of the Testimonial Committee."

I have now, Dr. Hume, on behalf of the Subscribers, the great pleasure of handing to you this Address, and of asking you to accept along with it, the service of plate which is upon the table, and I am sure I only say what every member of this Society would desire to say, when I wish that you may be blessed with health and long life to continue your useful and honourable labours.

The Rev. Dr. Hume, who was most cordially received, in reply, said—Though I am not, like Moses, slow of speech, there is one subject on which I never could speak, and that is on the subject of myself; and if my words be few on the present occasion I trust that you will not conceive that I am wanting in appreciation of the high honour—or, rather, I should say, for I prize it more—the great kindness which has been shown me this evening. Our Historic Society was founded in May, 1848, and I can assure you that every labour I have

undertaken in connection with it has brought its own reward. There is a pleasure associated with every class of work, and according to a man's tastes and habits, so he selects the field which he wishes to cultivate. I did that, and I have been as happy in the doing as others have been in the witnessing. It is at least equally pleasant to give as to receive in matters of intellectual instruction. I remember well the evening when the suggestion was first made to found this Society. It was at Mr. Mayer's house. There were present Mr. Mayer, myself, and Mr. Pidgeon, an artist, who is now resident in London. I am very proud and happy to mention the names of these gentlemen to show how much their cordial co-operation supported me in carrying the Society through, especially in the early part of its history. Mr. Mayer, as you are aware, has always been an unfailing friend to the Society, and is so at the present hour. Our ambition was to found a large intellectual association, not at first, but eventually, consisting of gentlemen of varied tastes and habits, and especially to publish a volume annually. In both points we have succeeded, and I am glad to say that several other learned Societies over the country have taken example by us, and have gone and done likewise.—After briefly referring to the pleasure which he had taken in antiquarian pursuits, and the many kind friends which their cultivation had given him the opportunity of making all over Lancashire and Cheshire, the reverend gentleman concluded—And now what shall I say respecting the beautiful and magnificent gift which you have been kind enough to offer to me? I may say that I should have received with pleasure a cup of cold water, in recognition of your kind feeling, from the friends who have offered me this; and if I feel unworthy of a tribute so handsome, it is something to feel that it is a testimony worthy of those who present it. As such, I assure you that I appreciate it. It has often been said that I am a man of varied tastes and habits. In one sense that is true; but in another sense, as I am in the habit of saying, I have only two ideas in the world. These are Religion and Education. The one concerns my professional occupation; the other forms at once the burden and the pleasure of my life. All that I have been able to do in connection with this Society comes under the department of Education—of course, in a large and general sense, not in a mere scholastic sense—and I am glad to find an appreciation of it, and that my exertions have been useful. They have been earnest, but without any expectation of reward or thanks. Nevertheless, I should be churlish not to value an act so kind and a gift so handsome as this. I thank you with all my heart, and I shall always regard it as a memorial of the kind friends who have placed it at my service.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

ANNUAL EXCURSION.

The usual Summer Excursion was made on Friday the 28th July, 1865, to Hawarden, when, by the kind permission of Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., the park and pleasure grounds, in which stand the ruins of the ancient Castle of Hawarden, were thrown open to the members and their friends. After visiting the gardens and other points of interest, the party assembled in the ancient Castle, when Mr. E. F. Evans read a Paper on its History and Architectural peculiarities.

Dinner had been served, at the *Glynne Arms* in Hawarden Village, before the grounds were visited, the Rev. Dr. Hume, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, in the Chair, when the usual toasts were proposed and responded to, W. Rees Esq., of Manchester, being Vice-Chairman. The party returned to Liverpool in the evening, having passed a highly agreeable day.

Members (only) can now be supplied with copies of former Volumes, to complete sets, at the following prices:—

Vols. I to VI, *First Series*, . . .	£0	15	0
VII to XII, *ditto*, ...	1	5	0
I to IV, *New Series*, . each	0	7	6

Volume III *(First Series)* cannot be sold separately.

INDEX.

A

Abbot of Vale Royal, his splendour and power, 15.
Aldborough, relic found at, 219.
ANCIENT BOROUGH OF OVER, 13, 284.
Antonine, tenth Iter of, its course, 263.
Archer, Mr., was he the original discoverer of the use of collodion in photography?, 255 n.*
Ashfield, C. J., author of paper, 181, 285.
Aske, Robert, proclamation by, 144.
AUTHORS OF PAPERS:—
Ashfield, C. J., 181, 285.
Baar, Rev. Dr., 294.
Buxton, David, 231, 289.
Dawson, Thomas, 73, 282.
Evans, E. F., 299.
Gibson, A. Craig, 139, 200.
Gibson, J. Harris, 161, 287.
Henderson, Ebenezer, LL.D., 288.
Hume, Rev. A., D.C.L., 283, 296.
Jeffery, F. J., 187, 295.
Rigby, Thomas, 13, 284.
Simpson, Professor J. Y., 257, 287.
Smith, H. E., 199, 271, 288, 296.
Towson, J. T., 249, 288, 291.
Waterhouse, N., 23, 47, 283, 287.
Wilkinson, T. T., 1, 263, 286, 293.

B

Baar, Rev. Dr., author of paper, 294.
Barn hill, druidical stones on, 4.
Base money, mentioned by Chaucer, 195.
Bath, J. D., enrolled a member, 284.
"Beauties of Cornwall," *quoted*, 10.
Belisama Æstuarium, 264.
Benas, B. L., enrolled a member, 284.
Blind Beggars, remarks on, 241.
Boggart stones, near Burnley, 7.
Borlase, Dr., *cited*, 3; opinions of on rock basins, 9.
Boulsworth, rock basins at, 3.
Bremetonacis, 264.
Bride stones, the, 5.
Bright, H. A., chairman, 282; donor, *ib.*; exhibitor, *ib.*
BRITISH SILVER MILITARY WAR MEDALS, 161, 287.
Broad head stones, the, 4.
Brooches, ancient, found in the caves of Craven, 217.
Bullion, scarcity of, 196.
Burke, W., chairman, 283, 289; exhibitor, 288.
Burnley, hills near, 1; fortifications near, 2.
Buttock stone, the, 3.
Buxton, D., author of paper, 231, 289; chairman, 287, 294; exhibitor, 293.

C

Calunea = Colne, 264.
Calder Stones, the, 257.
Caulfield, R., donor, 288.
Cave near Ulverston, objects found in, 225.
Caves of Craven, 200.
Chaucer, mentions base money, 195.
CHAIRMEN AT ORDINARY MEETINGS:—
Bright, H. A., 282.
Burke, W., 283, 289.
Buxton, D., 287, 294.
Higgins, Rev. H. H., 283.
Hume, Rev. Dr., 281, 285, 287, 290, 292, 295, 298.
McQuie, P. R., 277.
Marsh, J. F., 296.
Mayer, J., 293.
Sansom, T., 288.
Tinne, J. A., 284.
Towson, J. T., 286.
Waterhouse, N., 289.
Chemistry, its connection with photography, 249.
"Cheshire's Success," *quoted*, 21.
China, late war in, medal for, 177.
Clattering Stones, the, 5.
Claudet, M., his discovery in reference to photography, 253.
Clipping, prevalence of in 1247, 192,
Coccium, 264.
Coins, earliest use of, 187; gold, foreign, early circulated in England, 193; list of in circulation in 1505, 198.
Colunio = Colne, 264.
Cornish miners, 222.
Cornwall, rock basins of, natural or artificial?, 10.
Craven, district of, described, 199; geologically, 229.
Crimean Medal, the, 177.
CUP-CUTTINGS AND RING-CUTTINGS ON THE CALDER STONES NEAR LIVERPOOL, 257, 287; probable era of such carvings, 261.
Cust, Hon. Sir E., exhibitor, 286.

D

Daguerre, discovery of, 250.
Daguerreotype, the, noticed, *ib.*
Darnhall, Cheshire, serfdom of the ancient inhabitants of, 14.
Dave Stones, 4.
Davies, John Jun., exhibitor, 284.
Dawson, T., author of paper, 73, 282; exhibitor, 282.
Deaf and Dumb: comparison between census of 1851 with that of 1861, 231; relative increase of, 234; more general education of, *ib.*; occupations of, 235; their generally improved condition, 236; they shun begging, 237; their method of communicating with others, 238; how to detect impostors, 239; an indomitable rogue, 240; mendicants and resident in Irish workhouses, 242; institutions for their education, utility of, 243; other means of instruction described, 245; Sunday services for, 246; general results, 247.
Dei Gratiâ, first used on coins and seals, 194.
Denny, Mr., his account of the Craven Caves, 209; *quoted*, 215.
Dew Stones, 4.
DONATIONS. *See* LIBRARY *and* MUSEUM.
DONORS. (General.)
London.
Geological Society, 282, 292, 295.
Royal Asiatic Society, 282.
——Astronomical Society, 290.
——Geographical Society, 285, 289, 294.
——Society, 283, 287, 289, 294, 296.
Society of Antiquaries, 284, 289.
Society of Arts, 294.
Statistical Society, 282, 287.
Provinces.
Chester Architectural, Archæological &c. Society, 286.
Cornwall, Royal Institution of, 286, 295.
Kent Archæological Society, 281.
Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 293, 294.
Leicestershire Architectural &c. Society, 287.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Society of Antiquaries, 295.
Norfolk and Norwich Archæol. Society, 284, 295.
Reliquary, The, 285, 289.
Sussex Archæological Society, 284.
West Riding of Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society, 293
Liverpool.
Architectural and Archæological Society, 288.
Athenæum, 282.
Gallery of Inventions and Science, 288.
Literary and Philosophical Society, 296.
Naturalists' Scrap-book, 283, 296.
Scotland.
Royal Society of Edinburgh, 289.
Society of Antiquaries, 286.
Ireland.
Dublin Geological Society, 287.
Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Society of Antiquaries, 288, 296.
Royal Dublin Society, 285, 290.
——— Irish Academy, 283.
Foreign.
Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais, 288, 294.
DONORS. (Individual.)
Anonymous, 290.
Bright, H. A., 282.
Caulfield, R., 288.
Fisher, H. S., 283, 296.
Gardner, Mr., 289.
Genn, J. H., 282.
Green, Rev. H., 294.
Jewitt, Ll., 285, 289.
Jones, M. C., 281.
Rickards, C. H., 284.
Smith, C. R., 287.
Stewart, J., 281.
Tinne, J. A., 285.
Wilkinson, T. T., 285, 287.
Douglas, Mr., exhibitor, 281.
Dowkerbottom Hole, described, 203.
Druid Barrows, 2.
DRUIDICAL ROCK BASINS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BURNLEY, 1, 286.
Druids, Ancient, rites of, 3.
"Drunken Barnaby's Journal" *quoted*, 140.
Dunbar, battle of, medal for, 162.

E

East India Company, military war medals issued by the, 170, 176.
Eddisbury, ancient city of, 22.
Edward I, coins of, 193.
Edward III, coins of, 194.
Edward IV, coinage of, 196.
ENGLAND OF SHAKSPEARE, THE, 23, 283. *See Shakspeare.*
Ethelfleda, queen, founder of Eddisbury, 22.
Evans, E. F., author of paper, 299; exhibitor, 291.
EXHIBITORS:—
Bright, H. A., 282.
Burke, W., 288.
Buxton, D., 293.
Cust, Hon. Sir E., 286.
Davies, John, Jun., 284.
Dawson, T., 282.
Douglas, Mr., 281.
Evans, E. F., 291.
Fabert, J. O. W., 284, 286.
Forrest, J. A., 296.
Genn, J. H., 293.
Gibson, A. C., 290.
——— J. H., 286, 293, 295, 296.
——— T., 285, 288, 291.
Gregson, C. S., 285, 295.
Helsby, Mr., 285.
Higgins, Rev. H. H., 283.
Hills, G. M., 283.
Hume, Rev. Dr., 281, 283, 285, 287, 295.
Jacob, J. G., 281.
Jeffery, F. J., 295.
Mathison, W., 293.
Moore, T. J., 294.
Nottingham, Dr., 281.
Sansom, T., 286.
Simpson, Professor J. Y., 286.
Smith, H. E., 288, 289, 293, 295.
Stephenson, Mr., 282.
Stonehouse, J., 286.
Towson, J. T., 288, 291, 295, 296.
Waterhouse, N., 288, 290.
Wilkinson, T. T., 286.

F

Fabert, J. O. W., exhibitor, 284, 286.
Falstaff, character of, 24.
Farthings, round, first English, 193.
Ferling-noble, 194.
Fisher, H. S., donor, 283, 296.
FLORA OF PRESTON AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, Part iv, 181, 285.
Florin, origin of the name, 194.
Fold hole stones, the, 5.
Forrest, J. A., exhibitor, 296.
Fortifications near Burnley, 2.
Fox Stones, the, 4.
French military war medal (Crimea) described, 178.
Fry, Mr., was he the original discoverer of the use of collodion in photography?, 255, n.*

G

Gardner, Mr., donor, 289.
Genn, J. H., donor, 282; exhibitor, 293.
Gibson, A. Craig, author of paper, 139, 290; exhibitor, *ib.*
Gibson, J. Harris, author of paper, 161, 287; exhibitor, 286, 293, 295, 296.
Gibson, T., exhibitor, 285, 288, 291.
Goddard, Mr., his discovery in reference to photography, 253.
Gold currency, 193, 194.
Gorple rook basins, 3; derivation of the name, 6.
Great Scaur Limestone, 199.
Green, Rev. H., donor, 294.
Greenwood, H., enrolled a member, 283.
GREENWOOD OF SHAKSPEARE, THE, 47, 287. *See Shakspeare.*
Gregson, C. S., exhibitor, 285, 295.
Grey stones, the, 4, 5.
Groats and half-groats, first issue of, 195.
Groats mentioned, 192.

H

Haigh, T., enrolled a member, 284.
Half-pence, round, first English, 193.
Halls, ancient, near Over, account of, 22.
Hamlet, character of, 24.
Hanging stones, the, near Burnley, 7.
Harding, J., enrolled a member, 294.
Hardwick, Mr. C., on the topography of Lancashire, *quoted*, 264.
Hawkshead. Description of the town, 142; its situation, 143; salubrity, *ib.*; origin of the name, 144; its connection with the pilgrimage of grace, *ib.*; internal and domestic affairs of, 145; charter granted, 149; ecclesiastical history of, 150; its church, 152; its tower and inscribed peal of bells, 155; the Grammar school, *ib.*
Hawk stones, the, 6.
Heald, T., enrolled a member, 284.
Heintz, L. W., enrolled a member, 294.
Helsby, Mr., exhibitor, 285.
Henderson, E., LL.D., author of paper, 289.
Henry III, coins of, 193.
Henry V, character of, 23.

Henry VI, character of, 23; his resort to alchemy, 196.
Henry VII, coinage of, 196.
Hilbre Islands, original name of, 271; account of, *ib.*; Saxon cross and sepulchral stone found there, 273; human remains, 274; other archæological objects found, 275.
Higgins, Rev. H. H., chairman, 283; exhibitor, *ib.*
Hills, G. M., exhibitor, 283.
HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY TO THE YEAR 1844, 249.
Hornby, W. P., enrolled a member, 284.
Hume, Rev. Dr., author of papers, 283, 296; chairman, 281, 285, 287, 290, 292, 295, 298; exhibitor, 281, 283, 286, 287, 295; presentation to, 297; elected a life-member.
Hunt, Professor, discovers the ferrotype, 255.

I

India, medals awarded for services in, 167.

J

Jacob, J. G., exhibitor, 281.
Jeffery, F. J., author of paper, 187, 295; exhibitor, 295.
Jewitt, Ll., donor, 285, 289.
Jews, the, special penalties against, for clipping, 191.
John, coinage of the time of King, 191.
Johnson, D., enrolled a member, 284.
Jones, M. C., donor, 281.

K

Kelco Cave, Giggleswick, 206.
"King of France," when first stamped on English coins, 195.

L

LAKELAND OF LANCASHIRE, No. 1—Hawkshead Town, Church and School, 139, 290.
Lakes, the English, 139; of Lancashire, *ib.*
Lancashire, East, border district of, 1; hills and moors of, *ib.*; geological features of, 2; Roman topography of, 263.
Lancashire, Lakeland of, 139.
Lancing down, Sussex, account of a brooch found there, 218.
Langcliffe Scaurs, caves of, 204.
Legion of Honour, insignia of, granted to British soldiers, 178.
LIBRARY, ADDITIONS TO:—
1. *Books.*
Burton, Capt., The Nile Basin, 285.
Catalogue of Liverpool Athenæum Library, 282.
——— Renshaw Street Chapel do., *ib.*
Cust, Hon. Sir E., Lives of the Warriors of 1600–1640, 294.
Smith, C. R., Collectanea Antiqua, 287.
Swale, J. H., Original Letters &c., by the late, 287.
2. *Transactions and Proceedings of Learned Societies &c.* See DONORS (General).
3. *Complete Pamphlets.*
Fin-Barre, Life of, 288.
Curiosités Numismatiques, 287.
Essayists and Essay Writing, 290.
Gungrog, reminiscences of the old panelling now at, 281.
Inventions and Science, Gallery of, Report, 288.
Lady's and Gentleman's Diary, 285.
Leeds, Wright on the early history of, 294.
Rhind, A. H., Memoir of, 281.
Whitney, Geffrey, Emblems of, 294.
4. *Maps, Prints, Broadsides &c.*
Memorials of Oldham's Tenement, being photographic views of the birthplace of Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, 284.
Light, action of, in photography, 249.
LIMESTONE CAVES OF CRAVEN AND THEIR ANCIENT INHABITANTS, 199, 296.
Liskeard, rock basins at, described, 10.
Little chair stones, the, 4.
Liverpool, Pamphlet Literature of, 73.
"Long Service" medals described, 179.
Lusshebournes, merchants hanged for importing, 195.

M

McQuie, P. R., chairman, 277.
Mamucium = Manchester, 264.
Marsh, J. F., chairman, 296.
Marson, J., enrolled a member, 284.
Mathews, John Jun., enrolled a member, 284.
Mathison, W., exhibitor, 293.
Mayer, J., chairman, 293.
Medals, British Military, 161.
Medjidie, decoration of this order described, 179.
MEMBERS ELECTED:—
Bath, J. D., 284.
Benas, B. L., *ib.*
Greenwood, H., 283.
Haigh, T., 284.
Harding, J., 294.
Heald, T., 284.
Heintz, L. W., 294.
Hornby, W. P., 284.
Johnson, D., *ib.*
Marson, J., *ib.*
Mathews, John Jun., *ib.*
Millichap, G. T., *ib.*
Perry, Rev. S. G. F., *ib.*
Porter, J., *ib.*
Porter, T. A., 288.
Robinson, J., 284.
Rundell, W. W., *ib.*
Mendicants, blind, 242.
——— deaf and dumb, *ib.*
Metal, increased value of, 197.
Millichap, G. T., enrolled a member, 284.
Moore, T. J., exhibitor, 294.
Moricambe Œstuarium, 264.
Morris, Mr. J. P., *quoted*, 225.
MUSEUM, ADDITIONS TO:—
Fossil found in Lancashire Coal, 282.
Section of trunk of a Lignum-vitæ tree with remains of a bee-hive, 289.

N

New Cave (Craven) described, 202.
Niepce, produces pictures in the camera, 250.
NOTICE OF AN EARLY CONVENTUAL CEMETERY IN WIRRAL, 271, 288.
Nottingham, Dr., exhibitor, 281.
NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM 1066 TO THE PRESENT TIME, PART I, 187, 295.

O

"Our Brother Poverty," 145.
Over, ancient borough of, 13; mayor of, 14; antiquity of the office, 15; mode of electing him, 17; ancient customs, 19; chairing the mayor, 20; church of, *ib.*; curious old houses near, 22.

P

PAMPHLET LITERATURE OF LIVERPOOL, 73, 282.
Perry, Rev. S. G. F., enrolled a member, 284.
Phœnician worship, existing traces of in Scotland and Ireland, 221.

Photography, history of up to 1844, 249; origin of, *ib.*; discoveries of Porta, *ib.*; chemistry, in reference to, *ib.*; light, *ib.*; discoveries of Scheele, *ib.*; and of Ritter, *ib.*; experiments of Wedgwood, Niepce and Daguerre, 250; English school of, *ib.*; Draper's successful experiments in, 253; Goddard's, *ib.*; Claudet's, *ib.*; Fox Talbot's, 254; Hunt's, 255; who discovered the collodion process? *ib.*, *n.* *
Pilgrimage of Grace, the, 144.
Porta, J. B., inventor of the camera, 249.
Porter, J., enrolled a member, 284.
Porter, T. A., enrolled a member, 288.
Portus Sistuntiorum, 264.
Poverty, earl of, who he was, 145.
Punic intercourse with Britain, evidence of, 220.

R

Remains found in the Craven Caves, Yorkshire, table of, 208.
Remains, human, in Craven Caves, 213, 215.
Report of Society's Proceedings, seventeenth session, 277.
Rerigonium = Ribchester, 264.
Reynolds, Rev. T., *quoted*, 263.
Ribble, the, its Roman Stations, 263.
Richard's Itinerary *cited*, 264, 265.
Richard iij, character of, 24.
Rickards, C. H., donor, 284.
Rigby, T., author of paper, 13, 284.
Rigging stones, the, 5.
Rigodunum = Ribchester, 264.
Ritter, his discovery in photography, 249.
Robinson, J., enrolled a member, 284.
Rock Basins, 3, 4, 5; how produced, 11; uses of, 12.
Rocking stones near Burnley, 6.
Roman roads, Craven, 224.
Roman Topography of East Lancashire, 263, 293.
Round money, 193.
Rundell, W. W., enrolled a member, 284.
Russia, campaign against, medals granted for the, 177.

S

Sandys, Archbishop, founded Hawkshead Grammar School, 155.
Sansom, T., chairman, 288; exhibitor, 286.
Sardinian military war medal (Crimea) described, 178.
Saucer stones, the, 4.
Scheele, the first chemical discovery in reference to photography, made by, 249.
Schools for the deaf and dumb, 243.
Scilly isles, rock basins in the, 10.
Sepulchral rites, intimations of, 3.
Setelæ Œstuarium, 264.
Shakspeare, papers on, 23, 47; his pictures of country life, 24; his ridicule of the country Squires, 26; of the country townsfolk, 27; his account of the English yeomen, 28; his estimate of beadledom, 30; characteristics of the age of, 31; his references to contemporary events, 35; his nobles, 36; his ignorance of mountain scenery, 37; his sea pictures, 40; his love of nature, 49; his description of birds, *ib.*; of insects, 51; of flowers, 52; of weeds, 54; of woodland sports, 55; his fairyland, 61.
Shylock, character of, 24.
Simpson, Professor J. Y., M.D., author of paper, 257, 287; exhibitor, 286.
Smith, C. R., his views respecting the objects found in the Craven Caves, 209; donor, 287.
Smith, H. E., author of papers, 199, 271, 288, 295; exhibitor, 288, 289, 293, 295.
Some results of the Census of the Deaf and Dumb in 1861; 231, 289.
Sovereign, the, history of the coin, 197.
Stackhouse, Rev. T., *quoted*, 221.
Standing stones, the, 3.
Stansfield moor, druidical stones on, 6.
Stephenson, Mr., exhibitor, 282.
Steeple stones, the, 4.
Stewart, J., donor, 281.
Stonehouse, J., exhibitor, 286.
Stones, druidical, 3.

T

Talbot, Mr. Fox, his improvements in the science of photography, 255.
Thistleden Dean, druidical stones at, 7.
Tinne, J. A., chairman, 284; donor, 285.
Todmorden, rock basins at, 3.
Towson, J. T., author of paper, 249, 288, 291; chairman, 286; exhibitor, 288, 291, 295, 296; his discovery in reference to photography, 252; experiments in, 253; takes photographs on glass, 254.
Tumuli in East Lancashire, 2.

V

Vale Royal, abbot of, his former splendour and power, 15; origin of the abbey of, 21.
Victoria Cave, Craven, account of, 205.
Victoria cross, origin of, 178.

W

Warcock hill, natural rocks and boulders on, 4.
Waterhouse, N., author of papers, 23, 47, 283, 287; chairman, 289; exhibitor, 288, 290.
Waterloo medal, 166.
Wedgwood, his experiments in photography, 250.
"Weem," ancient, in Forfarshire, notice of, 258a*.
West, Mr., his account of the Craven Caves, 209.
Whinberry stones, the, 7.
Whitaker, Dr., on rock basins, *quoted*, 11.
Whitaker, Rev. John, on the topography of Lancashire, 263.
Widdop moor, 5.
Wilkinson, T. T., author of papers, 1, 263, 286, 293; donor, 285, 287; exhibitor, 286.
William the conqueror, coinage of, 189.
William Rufus, coins of, 191.
Wolsey, character of, 23.
Wookey hole, position of remains found in, 214.
Workhouses, Irish, blind residents in, 242.
———————deaf and dumb, do., *ib.*
Wright, Mr. T., on the Craven Caves, *quoted*, 210; his views questioned, 223; on the Roman topography of East Lancashire, 266.
Wycoller ark, 4.

FINIS.

T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, LIVERPOOL.

2

32101 064990631

This Book is Due

Annex A Size 3

55) v.1
ancashire
ol

ize 3

Forrester
ANNEX
Summer 1984